

Armenian Review

Spring 1984

Volume 37

Number 1-145

Armenian Review

The *Armenian Review* is published by The Armenian Review, Inc. in Boston. It appears in March, June, September, and December of each year. The editorial and management office is at 212 Stuart Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02116.

The *Armenian Review* is abstracted in *Historical Abstracts* and *America-History and Life*. It is microfilmed by Xerox University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

The annual subscription rate for the AR is \$15.00 for U.S. addresses, \$20.00 for others. Prices for individual copies are \$5 (regular issues) and \$8 (special issues). Information concerning the submission of manuscripts or advertisements can be obtained by writing to the editorial office. Publication identification number: ISSN 0004-2366.

The *Armenian Review* disclaims responsibility for statements, either of fact or opinion, made by contributors.

Second class postage paid at Boston, MA.

Postmaster: Send address changes to Armenian Review, 212 Stuart Street, Boston, MA 02116.

©1984 by the Armenian Review, Inc.

Printed by Transcript Printing Company, Peterborough, NH

Armenian Review

This Issue

THIS special issue is devoted to two aspects of the Genocide of the Armenian people during the First World War: historiography and documentation. Drafts of the first two articles, by Irving L. Horowitz and James Reid, were presented in 1980 at a symposium on the genocide sponsored by the American Armenian International College.

The articles by Armen Hairapetian and Armen Hovannisian cover major aspects of the documentation found in U.S. archives. These were written for an Armenian studies course on archival research taught by Prof. Richard G. Hovannisian at the University of California, Los Angeles.

The articles on the sources on the Genocide are followed by the texts of 30 documents referred to in the essays. The documents are introduced without editorial changes. Also, statements by Armenian sources enclosed in the original texts have been omitted, thereby limiting the first group of documents to accounts authored by US diplomatic personnel. Documents from the US Inquiry files reproduced here were authored by American and European missionaries who witnessed the tragic events that began in 1915. The documents from the State Department were declassified in 1961; those from the US Inquiry were declassified in 1980.

Contributors

IRVING LOUIS HOROWITZ is Hannah Arendt Distinguished Professor of Sociology and Political Science at Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey. Prof. Horowitz is the author of numerous works on social movements and change; his most recent work, *Taking Lives*, is a study of genocides and mass murders.

JAMES REID is Assistant Professor of Near Eastern History at Lehigh University in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Dr. Reid has specialized in the history of non-state social and ethnic formations. He is the author of *Tribalism and Society in Islamic Iran, 1500-1629* and is currently completing a major study on clan states in Central and West Asia.

ARMEN HAIRAPETIAN has completed undergraduate studies at the University of California at Los Angeles and is currently attending law school at the University of Southern California.

ARMEN HOVANNISIAN received his Bachelor of Arts degree in history from the University of California, Berkeley in 1983. He is currently teaching at the Ferahian Armenian High School in Encino, California and will enter law school in the autumn of 1984.

“Race Problems” and the Armenian Genocide: The State Department File

Armen Hairapetian

THE United States National Archives contain many files pertaining to the Armenian Question, particularly to the deportations and massacres of 1915 to 1923. The General Records of the Department of State form a part of these archives and include within them the extensive diplomatic correspondence relating to the Internal Affairs of Turkey. Of the many categories in this general file, several pertain largely to Armenians. One file, “Internal Affairs of Turkey, 1910-1929,” is divided further into specific topics. Prominent among these subcategories is one entitled “Race Problems,” which refers mainly to the persecution of the Christian population and covers the period of the Armenian Genocide. This file contains reports and documents from many sources, including missionaries, consular offices, relief workers, and survivors. A scholarly analysis of the “Race Problems” file reveals the nature of American sentiment during the Genocide and the extent of American involvement in attempting to reduce its impact on the Armenian survivors. This paper will focus on the period from 1915 through 1921.

The “Race Problems” file contains 520 entries from this period dealing with the Genocide.¹ The entries can be divided into groups based on their source or place of origin. Thus, there are 77 consular reports, of which 60 originated from American consuls in the Ottoman Empire. Reports from missionaries, relief workers, and eyewitness survivors in the Ottoman Empire or Transcaucasia total 72 entries. Of these, 55 originated in Northern Syria or Anatolia, particularly Harput

¹An extension of one year to 1922 adds another 222 entries, raising the total to 742. This report will deal with the entries through 1921 only.

(Kharpert), the midpoint of a major route of deportation, and Aleppo, where many deportation routes met.

The various committees that were organized to aid the Armenian refugees by providing relief money are also included in this record file. These committees sent 32 accounts of the living conditions of the refugees and their needs to the State Department.² Additionally, the State Department had three internal memoranda on the Armenian situation. Ten newspaper articles received by the Department concerning Armenian conditions are also on file.

The State Department itself is involved in 188 entries. These can be divided into three categories, which include State Department correspondence sent to United States diplomats (49 entries), correspondence sent to foreign embassies (seven entries), and Department exchanges with private individuals in the United States (132 entries). In addition, 18 letters transmitted between private citizens are also on file.

The State Department received 114 entries from embassies. Seventy-eight of these originated in Constantinople and were sent by either Ambassador Henry Morgenthau or his successors, *Chargé d'Affaires* Hoffman Philip and Commissioner Lewis Heck. In addition, 25 telegrams were received from other American embassies, and seven telegrams were sent by foreign embassies in the United States.

The remaining six entries include the official report from Viscount James Bryce of Great Britain, entitled *Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire* and published in 1916.³ The other five entries are anonymous letters to the Department of State.

An inspection of these documents establishes three interesting and general trends. These reflect the dichotomy that existed between the early local reports and those that concerned the entire canvas of the Ottoman Empire; the repeated assault on the German government's role in the Genocide; and the possible grouping of the documents according to the four phases of the Genocide.

The conflict between local and general reports was unconscious, stemming merely from the confusion of events. The primitive communication system of the Ottoman Empire prevented rapid transmission of information. Thus, many isolated consuls and missionaries thought the deportations and subsequent massacres occurred in their area only (the United States had consuls in Aleppo, Harput, Smyrna, Mersina, Trebizond, and Tiflis within the area affected by the deportations). Reverend Merrill's report from Zeytun, dated June 14, 1915, ex-

²Most of the relief committee entries are contained in file number 867.48, "Calamities," which is another topic in the "Internal Affairs of Turkey 1910-1929." These entries number in the hundreds and deserve a closer analysis.

³In counting the number of entries, the 156 documents of the Bryce Report have been treated as one entry.

emplifies this phenomenon. The Reverend believed the Marash and Zeytun deportations of early April 1915 were prompted by the Turkish overreaction to, and overestimation of, the activities of Armenian *fedayees* (freedom fighters) in the region.⁴ Additional reports of this type were sent by E. Briquet of Tarsus College, Consul Oscar Heizer of Trebizond, and Reverend Leslie of Urfa.⁵

Those observers who held the all-embracing viewpoint often overlooked the specifics of their region, and focused on the general impact of the deportations. These observers quickly pointed out that deportation was just a euphemism for massacre on a grander scale than before. Consul Jesse Jackson of Aleppo, as early as June 5, 1915, had already written to Morgenthau that the deportations were "a carefully planned scheme to extinguish the Armenian race."⁶ Also, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, or Dashnaktsutium, sent regular reports to Morgenthau in the early months. The Dashnaktsutium compiled the data sent by their agents in the Empire and sent their "Statement of Facts" to Morgenthau from their offices in Sofia, Bulgaria. They immediately told of the horrible treatment suffered by the Armenians in all the vilayets of Turkey inhabited by Armenians.⁷ By June 9, they were writing that "These are the last cries of the Armenian population in Armenia."⁸ In another message with the same date, the Dashnaktsutium stated the deportations are the "systematic pursual of a senseless policy of annihilation."⁹

The role of the German government in the massacres has remained a cloudy issue. While most scholars are aware of the admiration of the Young Turks for the Germans, no one has conclusively proved the degree of their subservience to the Germans. But from the beginning, the Germans were blamed by many as being either directly responsible for planning the deportations or indirectly responsible for not preventing them. Consul Jackson and Morgenthau were highly suspicious of German involvement. Jackson was quite perturbed about the German role, especially after the German consul in Aleppo wrote to him justifying the deportations because of the Armenian "rebellion" at Van (see

⁴United States National Archives, General Records of the Department of State, Record Group 59 [Decimal File, 1910-1929]. Figures representing class, country, and subject precede the document numbers; for example, 867.4016/62/168 represents Internal Affairs (8), Turkey (67), Race Problems (.4016), Documents 62 and 168. Thus R.G. 59,867.4016/79, Reverend Merrill to Morgenthau, June 14, 1915.

⁵R.G. 59,867.4016/95/103/147, June 5, July 7, August 10, 1915.

⁶R.G. 59,867.4016/77, Consul Jackson to Morgenthau, June 5, 1915.

⁷Included among these vilayets were Sivas (Sepastia), Van, Bitlis, Erzerum (Karin), Trebizond, Diyarbekir (Dikranagerd), Harput (Kharpert), and Konia.

⁸R.G. 59,867.4016/95/encl., Dashnaktsutium to Morgenthau, June 5, 1915.

⁹R.G. 59,867.4016/95/encl., June 5, 1915. See also Consul Heizer's July 28, 1915, 867.4016/126 and Consul Davis's July 11, 1915, 867.4016/122.

below).¹⁰ The German Consul thought the Armenians were totally unworthy of the "protection" and "safe-conduct" provided by the Turks.¹¹

The pleas to the German government to restrain the Turks began in April through the efforts of German missionary Johannes Lepsius. Through Morgenthau Lepsius asked for a protest from the Imperial Court to stop the slaughter.¹² Many private citizens from the United States, including lawyers Vahan Cardashian and J. Mensing, wrote similar notes.¹³ Further notes by Morgenthau¹⁴ influenced the Germans to act. On August 9, 1915, they therefore chose to remonstrate on behalf of the Armenians and condemn the "horrible deeds and to decline any responsibilities for the consequences."¹⁵ The Germans were surprised that the deportees were dying before even reaching their destination. The intent of this note, whether it was just a document for the files or a serious attempt to restrain the Turks, has not been conclusively gauged.

The grouping of entries in terms of the phases of the Genocide will occupy the rest of this paper. The 520 entries can be broken down into four basic groups: the early reports and letters; the realization of a systematic plan of genocide; the subsequent frantic efforts for relief for survivors; and the reflections of the various consuls and missionaries after the fact. These four sections comprise, in fact, the American reaction to the Armenian Genocide. This reaction grew over time as the details of the deportation process became public. By the time the United States declared war in 1917, this reaction had grown into a universal condemnation of the Ottoman government.

The process of deportation was conducted against the Armenians of Sivas, Harput, Trebizond, Mush, Konia, Kayseri, Malatia, Mardin, Adana, etc. For every group of deportees leaving their respective village or town, few, if any, arrived at Aleppo, which was a preliminary depot for most before continuing their journey to the Mesopotamian deserts. The survivors related:

The harrowing details of the separation of the grown male members of their families therefrom, or the actual killing of them before the eyes of, their relatives and friends, or of the robbing of the emigrants en route, of the unlimited suffering and death of famished women and children, the unbelievable brutality of the accompanying gendarmes towards young girls and more attractive women, the carrying off by the Kurds and Turks

¹⁰R.G. 59,867.4016/129, Jackson to Morgenthau, August 3, 1915.

¹¹R.G. 59,867.4016/118, German Consul to Jackson, July 9, 1915.

¹²R.G. 59,867.4016/83, Morgenthau to State Department, July 31, 1915.

¹³R.G. 59,867.4016/81/encl/146, July 8, September 28, 1915.

¹⁴See, for example, R.G. 59,867.4016/152, October 4, 1915, Morgenthau to State Department.

¹⁵R.G. 59,867.4016/172/encl., German Embassy to Ottoman Court, August 9, 1915.

of beautiful girls, women and children, and countless other atrocious crimes committed against them all along the way.¹⁶

These deportations that initiated the Armenian Genocide began in April with the deportations of Armenians from Zeytun and Marash. Concurrent with these developments was the Turkish attempt to eliminate Armenians at Van. Although the Ottoman government claimed that Armenians revolted at Van, the documentation in the archives stresses that the Armenians were merely defending themselves. The details of these two events, however, remained unknown to Morgenthau until May or even June due to the aforementioned primitive communications in the Empire, compounded by the Ottoman policy of censoring all information regarding the fate of the deportees.

Within Constantinople itself, the Turkish leaders were ensuring the success of their policies by depriving the Armenians of their leaders. On the night of April 23-24, many Armenian leaders and intellectuals, including members of the Ottoman Parliament, were arrested. These arrests prompted immediate American involvement, since this type of action could hardly go unnoticed. Morgenthau quickly cabled the State Department that "over 100 Armenians of better class were arrested, ostensibly to prevent revolutionary propaganda. Their lives are probably not in danger but they are being deported to the interior. . . . Have also received unfavorable reports about Armenians in interior provinces."¹⁷ These seemingly dissimilar events were not yet connected. Morgenthau and other diplomats concerned themselves with only one event in any letter sent to Washington. On a later note of April 30, 1915, Morgenthau, concerned with the situation of Armenians in Van and Zeytun, wrote:

As traveling in the eastern provinces has been stopped practically and all correspondence is under strict censorship, it is impossible to know how true the reports or statements are. From a report received today from Consul Jackson at Aleppo, it appears that the Turkish authorities are treating the Armenian population of Zeitoun and Marash with incredible severity.¹⁸

But reports soon trickled in from the various regions. Walter Sharp, relaying a report from the French Foreign Office, told the State Department that "for about a month the Kurds and Turkish population of Armenia has been massacring Armenians with the connivance and often assistance of Ottoman authorities. Inhabitants of 100 villages near Van were all murdered."¹⁹ Sharp clearly implied that an organized

¹⁶R.G. 59,867.4016/373/encl., Consul Jackson to Secretary of State, March 4, 1918.

¹⁷R.G. 59,867.4016/58, Morgenthau to Secretary of State, April 27, 1915.

¹⁸R.G. 59,867.4016/59, Morgenthau to Secretary of State, April 30, 1915.

¹⁹R.G. 59,867.4016/67, Sharp to Secretary of State, May 28, 1915.

massacre was underway and that the Armenians at Van had a right to bear arms against the Turks, for the surrounding towns had been massacred.

In May the first refugees began to pass through Aleppo, which was the main terminal for deportees throughout the Empire. Consul Jackson, writing to Morgenthau often in this early period, was disgusted by what he saw. "Fathers exiled in one direction, mothers in another, and young girls and small children in still another. According to reports from reliable sources, the accompanying gendarmes are told they may do as they wish with the women and girls."²⁰ Again on June 5, Jackson wrote that "there is a living stream of Armenians pouring into Aleppo from the surrounding towns and villages. They are forced to continue the journey to some out of the way place where there is neither shelter, food, nor means of possible existence."²¹ By June the process of deportation had raced throughout the Empire. Beginning in Cilicia, it spread to Erzerum, and then all the areas in between, including Harput, Sivas, Bitlis, Trebizond, etc. Everywhere town criers read aloud the deportation proclamation in town centers, striking fear into the hearts of the Armenian population.

The stated aims of the proclamation differed greatly from the resulting execution of these policies. The official proclamation was such a benign and gentle document that on the surface Armenians would have had little cause for apprehension. The proclamation guaranteed that the deportation would last only until the end of the war, at which time the deportees could return to their homes. Since they would eventually return, there was no need to sell their possessions. All of their property would be counted and placed in trusts, and the government would accrue all rents collected from their housing to these accounts. Shelter and food would be provided along the way, with gendarmes provided to ensure their safe arrival. Any attack on the convoys of deportees would be repelled by the gendarmes.²²

But the apprehensive attitude of the Armenians had stemmed from the implications of these policies. Since most of the property in that region was fixed, the Armenians had to forfeit most of their life's work and wealth by leaving behind their most valuable possessions. Many began their arduous journey — the final journey for most of them — with but a fraction of their wealth. Many thus lacked the means to purchase what little bread was for sale en route and suffered accordingly.

The reports received from the interior concerned the deplorable state of the refugees. From Urfa Reverend Leslie and various eyewitness survivors all held the Ottoman government responsible for the pitiful

²⁰R.G. 59,867.4016/72, Consul Jackson to Morgenthau, May 12, 1915.

²¹R.G. 59,867.4016/77, Consul Jackson to Morgenthau, June 5, 1915.

²²R.G. 59,867.4016/105/encl. Official Proclamation.

state of the deportees.²³ Consul Oscar Heizer of Trebizond, on the occasion of the issuance of the deportation orders in Trebizond, said that "within five days, the entire Armenian population of Trebizond and vicinity including men, women and children will be obliged to turn over to the government such property as they cannot take with them and start for the interior, probably for Mosul."²⁴ This implied traveling on foot in the midst of summer to the deserts of Iraq and Syria, a distance of over 800 miles, as few could afford the exorbitant rates charged by the government for the scarce oxcars.

As the evidence accumulated of a plot more sinister than any could imagine, Morgenthau feared the worst. He realized that the deportations were not a plan to assimilate the Armenian people among Turkish villages in order to kill them culturally and ethnically, as he once believed.²⁵ Instead the plan was simply to kill them:

Persecution of Armenians assuming unprecedented proportions. Reports from widely scattered districts indicate systematic attempts to uproot peaceful Armenian population and through arbitrary arrests, terrible torture, wholesale expulsions and deportations from one end of the Empire to the other — accompanied by frequent instances of rape, pillage, and murder — turning into massacres to bring destruction and destitution on them.²⁶

With this, the Armenian Genocide entered its second phase in American correspondence. This phase roughly covers the period from late June to September 1915, when the Americans realized that the extent of the deportations lay far beyond any scope previously imaginable. Also, each passing day witnessed an increase in severity, cruelty, and terror by the Ottoman government toward the remaining survivors in the refugee streams.

During the month of July every American consul in the Empire sent reports to Morgenthau analyzing in detail the plight of Armenians. The pace of deportation quickened in this month and the cumulative effects of prolonged disease and hunger rapidly took a heavy toll on the deportees. Consul Leslie Davis of Harput, a veteran of many years in the Ottoman Empire, witnessed the conditions of the deportees flowing from the northern regions through Harput. He remarked that "they are almost without exception ragged, filthy, hungry and sick . . . the entire movement seems to be the most thoroughly organized and effective massacre this country has ever seen."²⁷ Davis shattered the

²³See, for example, R.G. 59,867.4016/92/95/97/encl., June 25, June 5, and June 20, 1915.

²⁴R.G. 59,867.4016/85, Consul Heizer to Morgenthau, June 28, 1915.

²⁵R.G. 59,867.4016/Morgenthau to Secretary of State, May 25, 1915.

²⁶R.G. 59,867.4016/74, Morgenthau to Secretary of State, July 20, 1915.

²⁷R.G. 59,867.4016/122, Consul Davis to Morgenthau, July 11, 1915.

Turkish claim that the refugees would be fed and sheltered on their journey.

Other consuls shared Davis's view. Consul Nathan of Mersina described the incredible terror created by the Turkish authorities. Nathan relayed the rumors, which were soon after substantiated, of the fate of the first wave of deportees.²⁸ The situation at Smyrna resembled that of Constantinople, where the presence of a large body of foreigners forestalled massive deportations. The Armenian intellectuals and leaders of Smyrna suffered the fate of those in Constantinople. Consul Horton of Smyrna wrote on July 20 that seven leading Armenians will be executed and "the reasons for executing them are political . . . with a desire to intimidate the Armenian race."²⁹

Consuls Jackson and Heizer continued their revelations of the goals and policies of the Turkish government. In an early letter Consul Jackson described the miserable and pitiful condition of the deportees passing through Aleppo.³⁰ Jackson was appalled by the inhumane conditions of the journey. In a note of August 10, he remarked that "there may be a very disastrous result to the Armenian Question."³¹

Consul Heizer meanwhile criticized the deportation proclamation. The proclamation did not protect a single Armenian's goods or life:

If a person was an Armenian, that was sufficient reason for being treated as a criminal and deported. . . . There is no attempt at classification [of goods] and the idea of keeping the property in bales under the protection of the government to be returned to the owners on their return is simply ridiculous.³²

Two reports from this period written by Consul Davis were so damning to the Turkish government that repeated efforts to wire or mail them to Morgenthau proved fruitless. Finally, Davis smuggled them in the shoe of a missionary to Morgenthau. In the first document, dated June 30, 1915, Davis told how the Armenians of the Harput region feared a massacre along the lines of 1895-1896. In these years, mobs under the direction of Ottoman authorities took to the street and killed any Armenian they could find. But this time:

Another method was found to destroy the Armenian race. This is no less than the deportation of the entire Armenian population . . . from all six vilayets. A massacre would be humane in comparison with it. In a massacre many escape, but a wholesale deportation of this kind in this country means a lingering and perhaps more dreadful death for nearly every one.³³

²⁸R.G. 59,867.4016/124, Consul Nathan to Morgenthau, August 7, 1915.

²⁹R.G. 59,867.4016/130, Consul Horton to Morgenthau, August 5, 1915.

³⁰R.G. 59,867.4016/129, Consul Jackson to Morgenthau, August 3, 1915.

³¹R.G. 59,867.4016/147, Consul Jackson to Morgenthau, August 10, 1915.

³²R.G. 59,867.4016/126, Consul Heizer to Morgenthau, July 28, 1915.

³³R.G. 59,867.4016/269/encl., Consul Davis to Morgenthau, June 30, 1915.

In the second report, dated July 24, 1915, Davis discredited the government's assertion that the deportation was for wartime purposes only. He stated:

That the order is officially and nominally to exile the Armenians from these vilayets may mislead the outside world for a time, but the measure is nothing but a massacre of the most atrocious nature . . . there is no doubt that this massacre was done by order of the Government, there can be no pretense that the measure is anything else but a general massacre.³⁴

The activity of the consuls in this period centered mainly on lamenting the plight of the Armenians. They felt extreme frustration at their inability to intervene. They had to stand by and watch as Turkish mobs grabbed the property of the deportees (often even before the deportees left the town). They watched the gendarmes seize or swindle the deportees' meager supply of gold and money en route to the deserts. Consul Jackson's telegram of August 14 is fairly typical of consular sentiment on this point. He stated that the deportation process "is a gigantic plundering scheme as well as a final blow to extinguish the race."³⁵ His telegram of October 16 provided a good example of the fate of the deportees by giving details of one group en route to Aleppo:

For another five days they [the deportees] did not receive a morsel of bread, neither a drop of water. They were scorched to death by thirst, hundreds upon hundreds fell dead along the way, their tongues turned to charcoal. . . . On the seventy-fifth day when they reached Halep [Aleppo] 150 women and children remained from the whole caravan of 18,000.³⁶

The file under consideration includes 72 entries from missionaries and eyewitnesses of the Genocide. These sources support the observations made by the consuls. Moreover, they provide a greater degree of detail about the actual process of deportation and massacre as they focus on individual cases and villages, rather than large consular districts with aggregate figures of deaths. One is always more sensitive to the horrors of genocide when one focuses on the trials and tribulations of a specific family than of an entire nation. The large numbers conventionally used in connection with the Genocide unfortunately have the effect of numbing the mind and subsequently making the massacre appear as a neat and clean process of death. The reports sent by these missionaries form an important segment of the study of this Genocide.

There were two types of reports from Armenian sources — reports

³⁴R.G. 59,867.4016/269/encl., Consul Davis to Morgenthau, July 24, 1915.

³⁵R.G. 59,867.4016/148, Consul Jackson to Morgenthau, August 14, 1915.

³⁶R.G. 59,867.4016/225, Consul Jackson to Morgenthau, October 16, 1915. See also Consul Nathan's (Mersina) September 11, 1915, 867.4016/193; Consul Yoring's (Damascus) September 20, 1915, 867.4016/212/encl.; and Consul Peter's (Samp-soun), August 26, 1915, 867.4016/220, to observe similarity of events in widely separated parts of the Empire.

sent by the Dashnaksutiun and eyewitness depositions made to consuls and missionaries. The Dashnaksutiun felt it was the Turkish government's intent "to plunder the whole of Armenia into desolation and mourning; forced requisition, murder, rape, systematic plunders, spread terror, destitution, despair everywhere."³⁷ Another report in late June stressed the desperate situation of the Armenians, whose only crime was their bloodline.³⁸ Finally, in September, exasperated Dashnaks reported how "The Ottoman Government pursues without respite and with an unheard of frenzy the work of extermination of the Armenian people of the Empire."³⁹

The eyewitness depositions focus on the ordeals of the individuals during the deportations. These reports constitute a truly random sample of Armenians from across the Empire. The high degree to which their reports conform with one another attests to the fact that the Genocide was planned and directed by the Turkish government and was not merely a few local excesses in certain regions by overzealous officials.⁴⁰

The first missionary reports from April and May were similar to the reports of the consuls and Morgenthau. Few assumed a systematic plan to exterminate the Armenian race. By June, however, as the rumors spread from one village to the other they soon comprehended the fate of the deportees. William Dodd, a missionary in Konia, wrote to Morgenthau describing the extreme plight of the deportees. He reasoned that since the government refused to provide food and shelter for the refugees, the intent of the government was to kill many of them.⁴¹

A report from an American citizen living in Zeytun in June described the condition of the first deportees. The writer expressed shock at the cruelty of the escorting gendarmes and the utter lack of facilities during the deportations. He estimated that three-fourths of the deportees would die.⁴²

An American teacher at Marsovan College (a missionary-supported Protestant school) provided a good example of individual people affected by the massacres. He described the tortures and beatings suffered by the ten Armenian professors of that school. Regular bastinadoes (beating of the feet while the victim is suspended upside down), fingernail extractions, and other painful tortures were used.⁴³

³⁷R.G. 59,867.4016/63, Dashnaksutiun to Morgenthau, May 6, 1915.

³⁸R.G. 59,867.4016/95/encl., Dashnaksutiun to Morgenthau, June 5, 1915.

³⁹R.G. 59,867.4016/190, Dashnaksutiun to Morgenthau, September 17, 1915.

⁴⁰See, for example, R.G. 59,867.4016/122/encl. (undated); R.G. 59,867.4016/119, July 13, 1915; R.G. 59,867.4016/303/encl., November 1916; and R.G. 59,867.4016/242/encl., November 1915 for accounts by Armenian survivors.

⁴¹R.G. 59,867.4016/71, Dodd to Morgenthau, undated.

⁴²R.G. 59,867.4016/97, Anonymous report to Morgenthau, June 20, 1915.

⁴³R.G. 59,867.4016/106, Marsovan Instructor to Morgenthau, undated.

The Americans also had hospitals in the Turkish interior. One such hospital at Konia, under the direction of Dr. Wilfred C. Post, lay along one of the routes of deportation. Post sent accounts of the situation at the hospital. When informed that the United States planned to investigate the charges of massacre, Post replied: "Inquiry and investigation are unnecessary to confirm the horrible truth."⁴⁴ He continued to criticize the unsanitary conditions at Konia and predicted an inevitable epidemic, since the deportees lacked shelter and the rains would soon come. He described his morning routine at the hospital trying to alleviate the pain of the deportees. "No more description can adequately portray the awful suffering of these unfortunate people whose only crime is that they are Armenians."⁴⁵

William Peet, who was the Treasurer of the American Board of Missions in Constantinople, relayed many reports to Morgenthau from various missionaries. These reports include those filed by Dodd, Mary Graffam of Sivas, Francis Gage of Marsovan, and Misses Shane and McClaren of Erzerum. Dodd, writing from Konia, denied the Turkish claim that the deportees were cared for. "All reports that the government is providing food are absolutely false."⁴⁶ In a later note he criticized the gendarmes' plan for collecting enormous bribes from the Armenians for food, medicine, and even an extra day of life. "Oh I wish you could see the abominable cruelty of the treatment and the diabolical ingenuity of the ways to strip them of all their money before they die."⁴⁷

Mary Graffam accompanied a group of exiles from Sivas toward the Urfa plain, but was prevented from going on to Urfa and Aleppo with them. She provided first-hand accounts of attacks made by Kurds and Turkish brigands on the refugees, directly in front of the indifferent gendarmes. Once she was prevented from continuing the journey she feared a general massacre since the refugees were now deprived of what meager protection her presence had provided. The pretty women were carried off, all were robbed, and many were killed.⁴⁸ In an eerie passage, she described the emptiness of entire Armenian villages near Sivas, which once bustled with activity and gaiety. This type of documentation exceeds mere statistics in driving home the effects of genocide.

Francis Gage, who was secretary of the Turkish Young Women's Christian Association, recounted the ordeal that she and her female students had endured. They were deported from the Marsovan girls'

⁴⁴R.G. 59,867.4016/180/encl., Dr. Post to Morgenthau, September 3, 1915.

⁴⁵R.G. 59,867.4016/188/encl., Dr. Post to Morgenthau, September 3, 1915.

⁴⁶R.G. 59,867.4016/137, Dodd to Morgenthau, August 15, 1915.

⁴⁷R.G. 59,867.4016/189, Dodd to Morgenthau, September 8, 1915.

⁴⁸R.G. 59,867.4016/187/encl., Graffam to Morgenthau, August 7, 1915.

school, and she accompanied them as far as Sivas. She told of the Turkish pressure to convert the girls to Islam, the non-provision of sufficient food, and the witnessing of dead bodies that dotted the countryside. She complained to the provincial *vali* or governor who responded that the measures were prompted by the Armenian "rebellion." Gage, doubting the truth of any Armenian rebellion, replied that "whatever may be said for the revolutionary intentions of the Armenian people, a rebellious nation is not executed by its government."⁴⁹

The reports from Myrtle Shane and Grisell McClaren from Erzerum echoed the feelings of the other missionaries regarding the Armenian situation. In letters sent to Morgenthau through the German consul at Erzerum, they pleaded for foreign intervention to stop this affair. Their involvement in protesting the deportation and massacres prompted the Turkish authorities to kill a co-worker of theirs, a certain Grace Knapp, on the pretext that she helped revolutionaries shoot Turkish gendarmes.⁵⁰ Throughout the Genocide the Turks did not hesitate to intimidate consuls or missionaries who dared to report the truth of the Armenian situation.⁵¹

Besides the Americans, there were other Protestant missionaries in the interior provinces. These included Alma Johanson of Sweden and Sisters Paula Schafer and B. Rhones of Germany. Their observations again corroborate the accounts of the American consuls and missionaries. Miss Johanson wrote from Van, while the latter two reported from Aleppo.

Alma Johanson was one of the first to realize the actual plan of the Turks. She sent a report at the time of the so-called rebellion which supported the Armenian claim that they merely defended themselves and did not openly side with the advancing Russians against the Turkish forces.

The charge that the Russians had supplied the Armenians with arms is untrue. It very seldom happened that the Armenians rebelled and those few instances were only cases when they wanted to defend their wives from the Turks.⁵²

In another report written at the time the deportations began at Mush, Johanson asked permission to take the Armenian children of the orphanage with her, rather than leaving them with the other deportees. "You can take them along," said the *Mutessarif*, "but being Armenians their heads may and will be cut off along the way. I begged

⁴⁹R.G. 59,867.4016/253/encl., Gage to Morgenthau, December 1915.

⁵⁰R.G. 59,867.4016/254/encl., Shane to German Consul, October 14, 1915.

⁵¹See Consul Davis's July 11, 1915, 867.4016/122, and Consul Horton's January 15, 1916, 867.4016/218/encl.

⁵²R.G. 59,867.4016/241/encl., Johanson to Morgenthau, November 1915.

the Mutessarif to have mercy on the children, but in vain. He replied that the Armenian children must perish with their nation. . . . All these details show that the massacre was planned."⁵³ Miss Johanson not only rejected the Turkish notion of a rebellion at Van, but also quickly realized the systematic plan to kill the entire Armenian race regardless of age or sex.

Sister Rhones voiced concern over the deportations. She believed the deportees might die from starvation and disease due to Turkish indifference. She criticized the pattern of deportation, in which the deportees never knew how long they could stay in a given locale before continuing. "A large number of hungry people stood imploringly before us. . . . Suddenly the order for departure was given. If anybody did not hurry in striking their tent, it was pulled down with the bayonet."⁵⁴

Sister Schafer shared the concern of Sister Rhones. Although a veteran missionary and used to witnessing horror and cruelty, she was outraged by the severity of the treatment: "Though I had seen much distress before, things and scenes I saw there defied description. . . . On one single day, the Burial Commission buried as many as 580 people."⁵⁵ That such a long-time observer of Turkish racial problems would consider these deportations worse than any other measure applied against minorities tells much about the treatment received by the Armenians during this period.

Some Armenians from the eastern provinces were able to escape the fate of the other deportees by fleeing to Russia. They either took advantage of the confusion caused by the uprooting of the Armenians to cross the border, or they linked up with advancing units of the Russian army for safety. The American consul in Tiflis had to try to provide relief for these refugees, most of whom came from Van and Erzerum. He worked closely with both the local Armenian businessmen and the New York-based American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief. The many thousands of dollars raised by these groups provided the means for the Armenian race to continue.⁵⁶ Consul Smith of Tiflis sent numerous dispatches trying to collect funds and reports on his efforts for relief. On December 10, 1915, he reported that he needed five dollars per refugee per month to provide for their continued existence and that there were now over 170,000 in the Caucasus.⁵⁷ He followed this up with a dispatch that his funds were rapidly being exhausted.⁵⁸

⁵³R.G. 59,867.4016/226/encl., Johanson to Morgenthau, October 1915.

⁵⁴R.G. 59,867.4016/260/encl., Sister Rhones to Morgenthau, November 26, 1915.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*

⁵⁶For details of the exchanges between the State Department and the various relief committees, see File 867.48, "Calamities."

⁵⁷R.G. 59,867.4016/230, Consul Smith to Secretary of State, December 10, 1915.

⁵⁸R.G. 59,867.4016/237, Consul Smith to Secretary of State, January 1, 1916.

Finally, in late January, he sent a list of items purchased with relief funds, which included 111,000 articles of clothing and 22,000 stocks of bedding. Smith stressed the need for provisions of all kinds, particularly medical supplies, as he could still only provide one-tenth of the need.⁵⁹

If relief was so difficult to provide in Transcaucasia where the Russian government allowed relief activities, one can imagine how great the difficulties were in the Ottoman Empire. The Turkish government deliberately tried to hamper and restrict all relief efforts. Consul Jackson, on July 21, 1916, openly declared: "The difficulty lies in the fact that the strongest elements of the Turkish Government are opposed to the open administration of relief by foreigners to subjects under their control."⁶⁰ In a later dispatch in September, he outlined the difficulty in providing relief since Ottoman officials arrested all those who tried. Jackson vowed he "will continue though, as long as funds [for relief] last. I have saved many lives and will continue to try for consequences [would be] enourmous if relief stopped."⁶¹

The Turkish Government not only refused to provide any relief, it also hindered foreign efforts as well. American agents were told that relief was an internal affair, yet they saw none being provided. Auguste Bernau, the Aleppo agent of the Vacuum Oil Company, reported how "the management which has been entrusted to transport these people through the desert has no intention to feed them. Even it appears that it is a government principle to allow them to die of hunger. . . . People penned up in the open like cattle, without shelter, almost no clothing, and fed barely by food altogether insufficient."⁶²

Jackson was in the midst of relief operations, since Aleppo constituted a main terminal for the various deportation routes. In September he estimated he would need \$150,000 a month to provide every refugee the minimum amounts of food, clothing, and shelter necessary to survive. He also calculated that over a million Armenians had already perished and "careful estimates place the number of survivors at only fifteen per cent of those originally deported."⁶³

The Ottoman policy of continually moving the deportees from one camp to another further hampered relief efforts. This method deprived the refugees of the right to recover from their ordeal and begin the task of reconstruction. As Jackson phrased it:

Situation of the Armenian exiles in Mesopotamia seems quite deplorable from available information. These wretched, destitute people apparently

⁵⁹R.G. 59,867.4016/246, Consul Smith to Secretary of State, January 20, 1916.

⁶⁰R.G. 59,867.4016/291, Consul Jackson to Morgenthau, July 21, 1916.

⁶¹R.G. 59,867.4016/302, Consul Jackson to Morgenthau, September 21, 1916.

⁶²R.G. 59,867.4016/302/encl., Bunau to Consul Jackson, September 10, 1916.

⁶³R.G. 59,867.4016/219/encl., Consul Jackson to Morgenthau, September 29, 1916.

are being shifted about from one place to another in the desert by relentless officials; many dying of disease, starvation and exhaustion.⁶⁴

Jackson's views were seconded by other diplomats. Consul Davis stressed that "the important thing is to keep people alive for the present, which is the time to consider the Armenian race's needs."⁶⁵ Consul Nathan of Mersina told how essential relief was to the Armenians, since there was no food, and unsanitary burials and rampant disease prevailed. With the daily influx of refugees ever increasing, conditions steadily worsened.⁶⁶

The American Chargé d'Affairs in Constantinople, Hoffman Philip, who took over for Morgenthau in early 1916, relayed these viewpoints to the State Department. In September 1916, he cabled the Department that "The Armenians are being harassed to death. They have all been sent away from Deir Zor. . . . There is no possibility of their living more than a few weeks."⁶⁷ He followed this up with another telegram saying: "The imperative needs as regards the Armenian situation are, first, the absolute cessation of further deportations and second, the removal of unreasonable restrictions against the administration of relief directly to these people."⁶⁸

Since the administration of relief had to be of a clandestine nature, very few reports were circulated by diplomats concerning the granting of relief funds.

The majority of the reports on relief are contained in the file 867.48 labelled "Calamities." Obvious reasons dictated the need for secrecy. If the Turkish censors intercepted details of the relief operations, they could then restrict the consuls' activities even further. This would undoubtedly have led to the needless deaths of more Armenians. Consul Jackson alluded to the existence of many documents regarding relief operations that he had to destroy after the entry of the United States into World War I in April 1917.⁶⁹ The bulk of the existing documents relate to the need for, rather than the provisioning of, relief.

Missionaries provided more detailed descriptions of relief, but still the documents are few in this file. William Peet relayed the various messages of the missionaries to the State Department. His letter of January 24, 1916 asked for relief funds, since winter was approaching. He also used the occasion to denounce the Turkish government's promises for relief as lies. "All the promises the Vali made in regard to

⁶⁴R.G. 59,867.4016/291, Consul Jackson to Morgenthau, July 21, 1916.

⁶⁵R.G. 59,867.4016/269/encl., Consul Davis to Morgenthau, December 30, 1915.

⁶⁶R.G. 59,867.4016/238/encl., Consul Nathan to Morgenthau, November 4, 1915.

⁶⁷R.G. 59,867.4016/296, Philip to State Department, September 1, 1916.

⁶⁸R.G. 59,867.4016/297, Philip to State Department, October 1, 1916.

⁶⁹R.G. 59,867.4016/373/encl., Consul Jackson to State Department, March 4, 1918.

relief are turning out false."⁷⁰ In November 1916 he provided detailed figures for relief work at Konia. These figures showed how much money was spent for general relief of deportees, special relief of emergency cases and medical relief for the sick. They also showed the money provided for orphanages and the hospital's (still under Dr. Post's administration) operating budget.⁷¹ The need for orphanages was especially great, since "The Government was doing absolutely nothing for these children."⁷² In a period of about a year, between October 1915 and October 1916, the missionaries were able to organize relief, providing regular meals and medical assistance for the refugees at Konia.

The German missionaries, Sister Schafer and Sister Rhones, also assisted the destitute refugees. In early November 1915, Sister Schafer described the terrible conditions to Morgenthau. As in every other refugee camp, there was little food, little protection from brigands, and the prevalence of disease.⁷³ But through the tacit support of the local German consul, by January 1916 they were providing some relief, although they lacked the considerable resources of Peet and the consuls. She felt relief operators "ought not to give up the work among the distressed as long as anybody of them is left in this place [Aleppo], because they would absolutely die of starvation."⁷⁴

The frantic efforts to provide relief continued throughout the Caucasus and the Ottoman Empire. By mid-1917, when the United States declared war and forced the evacuation of the consuls, regular relief had been arranged for most of the orphans and refugees, enabling them to begin rebuilding their lives. Many Americans caught in the tumultuous events of the Genocide tried to reflect upon them and pull all the events together. These efforts included reports from Consuls Davis and Jackson, and missionaries such as Dr. C.E. Clarke, Dr. J.K. Marden, and Mrs. Francis Gage. While each eyewitness report discusses the entire process of deportation and Genocide, each source emphasizes different facets. An analysis of these accounts is necessary to close this reconstruction of the Armenian Genocide.

Francis Gage's reflections concerned the history of Turkish-Armenian relations and particularly developments after the 1914 declaration of war. She believed that the excess requisition of supplies for the Imperial Army from Armenian merchants in the fall of 1914 formed part of the scheme of causing destitution among the Armenians. After the peaceful winter of 1914, racial tensions flared again

⁷⁰R.G. 59,867.4016/267/encl., Peet to Morgenthau, January 24, 1916.

⁷¹R.G. 59,867.4016/306/encl., Peet to Philip, November 1916.

⁷²R.G. 59,867.4016/251, Dr. Post to Morgenthau, November 25, 1916.

⁷³R.G. 59,867.4016/260/encl., Sister Schafer to Morgenthau, November 16, 1915.

⁷⁴R.G. 59,867.4016/260/encl., Sister Schafer to Morgenthau, December 13, 1915.

when without reasonable cause the Turkish government ordered the deportation of all Armenians. Gage focused on the murder of the able-bodied Armenian males after they were separated from the women and children. Throughout her argument she stressed the importance of the Turkish entry into World War I in 1914 as the key in initiating the process of deportation.⁷⁵

C.E. Clarke, a medical doctor at the American hospital in Sivas, concentrated on the terrible aspects of the treatment suffered by Armenian soldiers. These soldiers, separated into "labor battalions," were literally worked to death. Writing in mid-1916, he stated: "It was mid-summer, they, the soldiers were allowed no water and no rest, and were driven with clubs and gunstocks by the gendarmes. . . . They stayed thus in this building without water for three days and even soaked the urine from the ground with handkerchiefs and drank it."⁷⁶ In asserting that the government intended to exterminate the Armenians, he reported that "these instances of treatment of Armenian soldiers are given to show the laxness of the Government at the time of the exile in its protection of Armenians."⁷⁷

Dr. J.K. Marden witnessed the effects of the deportations from his position at the Marsovan Hospital. Writing in retrospect, he commented that the Turkish officials deliberately tried to cover up for the Genocide by referring to the benevolence of the deportation order. He rejected this tactic:

The official orders given for the deportation of the Armenians in Asia Minor were reasonable. Their life and their property was to be respected; but secret orders in every town had prepared the way for the brutal annihilation of the Armenians in the interior.⁷⁸

The report of Consul Jackson, entitled "Armenian Atrocities," covered his work as Consul in Aleppo during the First World War years. Written in March 1918, he wove the local conditions at Aleppo into the larger canvas of Genocide. He repeated much of his early remarks, including the Turkish refusal to allow the distribution of aid and the carnage near Aleppo. He provided lengthy examples of how he used the consular compound as a relief center and the success of his clandestine relief (and open relief after mid-1916). He included a fascinating passage that described how he bribed Kurdish tribes to smuggle refugees into Transcaucasia and safety.⁷⁹ In short, he focused on relief efforts and showed his role in trying to reduce the impact of the Genocide.

⁷⁵R.G. 59,867.4016/253/encl., Gage to Morgenthau, December 1915.

⁷⁶R.G. 59,867.4016/288/encl., Dr. Clarke to Philip, May 31, 1916.

⁷⁷*Ibid.*

⁷⁸R.G. 59,867.4016/293/encl., Dr. Marden to Peet, July 1916.

⁷⁹R.G. 59,867.4016/373/encl., Consul Jackson to Secretary of State, March 4, 1918.

Consul Davis also compiled his report at the request of the State Department in mid-1918. His lengthy reflections are particularly vivid since his consular district included the vilayets of Bitlis, Harput, Sivas, Erzerum, and parts of Diyarbekir and Van. He recounted the story of the early arrests of prominent Armenians and remarked: "There was no way of knowing at the time what the intention or object of the Turkish government might be in making such arrests."⁸⁰ After the early arrests came the orders for deportation, he added "No one fully realized at that time what 'deportation' meant. . . . That most of the Armenians were in great fear and they had good reasons to be."⁸¹ He again discredited the Turkish claims that the deportees would be protected and fed en route to Aleppo. "I predicted few of these people would ever reach Ourfa, which was all too true a prediction."⁸² He also discredited the Turkish accusations that acts of violence by Armenian rebels prompted the deportations in Harput, miles away from the war front:

Although a hundred thousand Armenians in this vilayet had been driven out of their homes and a large part of them murdered, he [the Police Chief of the vilayet] could find only four or five instances where any Turk had been killed or even injured by Armenians and less than a dozen instances of any resistance by Armenians.⁸³

When he tried to relate how it took a while for the various United States agents to become aware of a systematic genocide, he remarked: "I have since been told that the news contained in my first communication about the situation in Harput was so appalling, that it was not fully believed until confirmed later."⁸⁴ When he recreated those appalling images of the deportees, he sadly noted: "Today there is hardly a trace of the [refugee] camp left, but whenever I have ridden past it I have always thought of the hellish scenes that took place there during the 'deportation' of the Armenians."⁸⁵

Finally, after providing various details of how he found bodies strewn all over the province and his efforts for providing relief, Davis summed up this reflection on the entire period:

I felt I had not been wrong in speaking of Mamouret-ul-Asis [Harput] in some of my reports as the 'Slaughterhouse vilayet' of Turkey. . . . This report is not, however, intended to be a brief for their [the Armenians'] cause, whatever the merits of that may be. I was so placed that I hap-

⁸⁰R.G. 59,867.4016/392, Consul Davis to Morgenthau, July 16, 1918.

⁸¹*Ibid.*

⁸²*Ibid.*

⁸³*Ibid.*

⁸⁴*Ibid.*

⁸⁵*Ibid.*

pened to be a witness of the terrible treatment they received at the hands of the Turkish Government.⁸⁶

That statement also pertains to this reconstruction of the Armenian Genocide, as seen through one State Department file entitled "Race Problems." The purpose of this study was to show the American eyewitnesses' sentiments relating to the Armenian tragedy. The extensive American concern and involvement on behalf of the Armenian refugees succeeded in mitigating the impact of the Genocide but could not eliminate the results. The Turkish government calculated the genocidal plan too thoroughly and implemented it too systematically, and thus achieved its sinister goals: the elimination of the Armenians from their ancestral homelands and the solution by brutal force of the Armenian Question. The process of Genocide has here been reported as seen through the eyes of neutral observers such as consuls, missionaries, and relief workers who happened to be in the Ottoman Empire during the Genocide. Their testimony goes beyond mere statistics in describing the implementation and effects of the holocaust. They convey the confusion, fatalism, and madness felt by the deportees, whose only salvation from anguish and humiliation was death. "The rest is silence."⁸⁷ ■

The author is pleased to acknowledge the assistance of Professor Richard G. Hovannisian in the preparation of this study. He assigned the topic and directed the research, writing, and editing.

⁸⁶*Ibid.*

⁸⁷William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act V, Scene ii, line 384.

Documents: The State Department File

R.G. 59, 867.4016/58

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

From Constantinople

Dated April 27, 1915

Recd. April 28, 10:30 A.M.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

608 April 27, 4 P.M.
Confidential.

Over hundred Armenians of better class were arrested ostensibly to prevent revolutionary propaganda. Among the number is Leon Chirinigon a naturalized citizen of Persian origin whose American citizenship is recognized by the Sublime Port. Have taken up matter. Their lives are probably not in danger but they are being deported to the interior. Movement against Armenians forms part of concerted movement against all non-Turkish and non-Union-and-Progress elements and indications exist that it will be followed by action against Zionists. Have also received unfavorable reports about Armenians in interior provinces. Colleagues and I are (#) strong efforts to prevent excesses and stop the movement.

AMERICAN AMBASSADOR CONSTANTINOPLE

(#) Apparent omission.

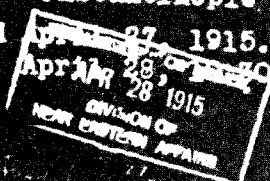
BY *January 28* DATE *2-27-15*
 3
 RC TELEGRAM RECEIVED GREEN CIPHER



From Constantinople

Dated *April 27* 1915.

Recd. *April 28* 1915 A.M.



567.4016
 52

Secretary of State,
 Washington.

608 April 27, 4 P.M.

~~Confidential~~

Over hundred Armenians of better class were arrested ostensibly to prevent revolutionary propaganda. Among the number is Leon Chirinigon a naturalized citizen of Persian origin whose American citizenship is recognized by the Sublime Port. Have taken up matter. Their lives are probably not in danger but they are being deported to the interior. Movement against Armenians forms part of concerted movement against all non-Turkish and non-Union-and-Progress elements and indications exist that it will be followed by action against Zionists. Have also received unfavorable reports about Armenians in interior provinces. Colleagues and I are (#) strong efforts to prevent excesses and stop the movement.

AMERICAN AMBASSADOR CONSTANTINOPE

(#) Apparent omission.

R.G. 59, 867.4016/58

TELEGRAM SENT

Department of State

Washington, April 26 [27], 1915.

Amembassy,

Constantinople.

Department's April twenty-seventh and your 608, April twenty-seventh. Urge Turkish Government to protect both Armenians and Zionists.

867.4016/58

3 P/P1

(Signed) BRYAN

R.G. 59, 867.4016/58

No. 111.

April 28, 1915.

His Excellency

Mr. George Bakhmeteff,
Ambassador of Russia.

Excellency:

In accordance with your oral request of April 27th, asking, on behalf of the Catholicos of the Armenian Church, that this Government should use its good offices with the Turkish Government to prevent the massacre of non-combatant Armenians in Turkish territory, the Department instructed the American Ambassador at Constantinople to bring the matter to the attention of the Turkish Government, urging upon it the use of effective means for the protection of the Armenians from violence at the hands of those of other religions.

The American Ambassador at Constantinople called the Department before receiving the Department's telegram, stating that over one hundred Armenians of the better class had been arrested, ostensibly to prevent revolutionary propaganda; and that the lives of these men are probably not in danger, although they are being deported to the interior.

After receiving this message the Department again cabled the Ambassador to urge the Turkish Government to protect the Armenians.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurances of my highest consideration.

W.J. BRYAN

867.4016/58

3 P/P1

R.G. 59, 867.4016/59

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

From Constantinople.

Dated April 30, 1915.

Rec'd 8:30 A.M. May 1.

Secretary of State,
Washington, D.C.

614. April 30, 4 P.M.

. . Confidential . .

Your 626. My 608.

Continued reports of persecutions, plunder and massacres of Armenians in certain parts of empire had been received. Strong representations were made by Armenian patriarch, Italian Ambassador, Bulgarian Minister and myself. Minister of War, to justify movement against Armenians, stated to me that Russian Armenians were responsible for destroying with bombs public buildings and post-office at Van, of which city they were in possession for twelve days. He declared that authorities feared similar attacks by Dashnagists in common council, therefore number of Armenians there had been deported. It is stated that while Armenians were in possession of Van, the Turkish Governor-General, brother-in-law of the Minister of War, was attacked and wounded and that later he died of the wounds. As traveling in the eastern provinces has been stopped practically and all correspondence is under strict censorship it is impossible to know how true the reports or statements are. From a report received today from Consul at Aleppo it appears that the Turkish authorities are treating Armenian population of Zeitoun and Marash with incredible severity and on account of the doings of some deserters are deporting and scattering a large number of the innocent population. Will forward copy of the report.

Apparently these measures are part of the campaign of repression against non-Turkish and non-Union-and-Progress elements and

organizations. This campaign may be executed however by the officials in remote regions with greater severity than the cabinet desires. The Grand Vizier, Minister of War and the Minister of the Interior have promised that no general massacres or excesses will occur and that a number of Armenians who were not Dashnagists and were arrested by mistake will be released. Arranged with Italian Ambassador this morning to call on the Grand Vizier and make further strong representations. for the protection of Armenians and other non-Moslems.

American Amassador,
Constantinople.

R.G. 59, 867.4016/67

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

From Paris,
Dated May 28, 1915
Recd. 8 p m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

796, May 28th, 11 A.M.

Foreign Office note just received transmits a communication requesting that it be notified urgently to Ottoman government as follows:

"May 24th. For about a month the Kurd and Turkish population of Armenia has been massacring Armenians with the connivance and often assistance of Ottoman authorities. Such massacres took place in middle April (?) at Erzerum, Dertchun, Eguine, Akn [Van], Bitlis, Mouch, Sassoun, Zeitoun, and throughout Cilicie. Inhabitants of about one hundred villages near Van were all murdered. In that city Armenian quarter is besieged by Kurds. At the same time in Constantinople Ottoman government ill treats inoffensive Armenian population. In view of these new crimes of Turkey against humanity and civilization the Allied governments announce publicly to the Sublime Porte that they will hold personally responsible these crimes all members of the Ottoman government and those of their agents who are implicated in such massacres."

S H A R P

OF 1-8-58 FROM W. H. ANDERSON, STATE DEPT
 BY Anderson, Frank DATE 3 May 61

TELEGRAM SENT.

CIPHER



Department of State,

Washington, May 29, 1915.

Ambassy,

Constantinople.

French Foreign Office requests following notice
 to given Turkish Government. Quote. May 24th. For about
 a month the Kurd and Turkish population of Armenia has been
 massacring Armenians with the connivance and often assist-
 ance of Ottoman authorities. Such massacres took place
 in middle April (?) at Erzerum, Dertoun, Eguine, Akn,
 Bitlis, Mouch, Sassoun, Zeitoun, and through Cilicie.
 Inhabitants of about one hundred villages near Van were
 all murdered. In that city Armenian quarter is besieged
 by Kurds. At the same time in Constantinople government
 ill treats inoffensive Armenian population. In view of
 these new crimes of Turkey, against humanity and civilization
 the Allied governments announce publicly to the Sublime
 Porte that they will hold personally responsible these
 crimes all members of the Ottoman government and those
 of their agents who are implicated in such massacres.

Unquote.

Communicate in Paragraph
By a

867-4316/67

3

P/Pl

867-4316/67

R.G. 59, 867.4016/71

American Embassy,
Constantinople

Strictly Confidential

May 25, 1915.

No. 310

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:-

I have the honor to bring to your notice, certain aspects of policy adopted by the present Government toward the Armenian community. The sharp oscillations in the treatment to which it has been subjected since the Turkish Revolution have taken a markedly unfavorable turn by reason of the War. The fact is that the present Ottoman Government no longer count on the Armenians as loyal to them. The hardships and oppression the Armenians have suffered in recent years, compared with the more favorable treatment received in Russia has caused them not unnaturally to contrast their lot with that of their co-religionists there. The first glamor of the constitutional era here soon disappeared, while the recollection of the Adana Massacre in 1909 is still fresh in their minds. It is therefore not unlikely to suppose that the great majority of the Armenians in common with all non-Moslem communities, as well as many Turks ardently hope for a change in Government. Between the wish and the ability to realize this there lies, however, a wide gulf. Apart from the mountainous region in Eastern Armenia, and the Zeitoun district, North of Alexandretta, the Armenians no more than other dissatisfied communities, possess the means or the determination to give expression to their wishes. In the Zeitoun, where a few tried to escape from military service a movement of savage repression has lately been carried out. Its details are in great part ignored here, but enough is known (See Despatch from Mr. Consul Jackson of April 21st) to make it certain that entire villages have been destroyed, with the invariable accompaniments of murder, rape and pillage. A more systematic policy than has been customary in the past, appears to have been pursued, in the wholesale deportation of the population. Only the other day, I received word (see Enclosure No. 1. letter from Dr. Dodd) of the arrival of 4000 homeless refugees from this district at Konia, where they find themselves in the

most pitiable state. Our Red Cross relief which was proffered, was refused by the Turkish authorities who announced that the refugees will be distributed in the neighboring country. The policy pursued in this case appears to be one of breaking up a compact Armenian community which had hitherto been able to preserve a certain liberty owing to living in mountain fastnesses, and by wholesale deportation which must deprive them of their ordinary means of livelihood locating them among purely Turkish villages where those who survive their ill-treatment need no longer be feared by the Government.

In the Eastern regions of the Empire although news is extremely scarce and unreliable, it would seem as if an Armenian insurrection to help the Russians had broken out at Van. Thus a former deputy here, one Pastormadjian who had assisted our proposed railway concessions some years ago, is now supposed to be fighting the Turks with a legion of Armenian volunteers. These insurgents are said to be in possession of a part of Van and to be conducting a guerilla warfare in a country where regular military operations are extremely difficult. To what extent they are organized or what successes they have gained it is impossible for me to say; their numbers have been variously estimated but none puts them at less than ten thousand and twenty-five thousand is probably closer to the truth. At all events, these doings have not unnaturally cast suspicion on the peaceful Armenian communities elsewhere and notably in the capital. Partly because of the suspicion that these are in connivance with the insurgents, partly because of the policy to destroy all vestiges of organization other than its own, the Government as I telegraphed you lately, has proceeded to the arrest and exile of several hundred Armenians in this city. In the towns of the interior similar repressive measures have been undertaken, while the same carried out in Armenian villages by brutal subordinates have doubtless given rise to excesses. I do not believe that as yet there have been any massacres on a large scale, but the repression and the coercive measures employed have undoubtedly been responsible for some loss of life. They have been brutal enough to alarm a nervous and excitable population who are prone moreover to give credence to startling reports. It is very difficult by reason of circumstances which the Department will appreciate to investigate the truth of the rumors of real or proposed massacres which constantly reach our ears. Correspondence with the interior is practically stopped or else written with a view to the censors eye. Travel is permitted only exceptionally and takes place with great difficulty. The Armenians in common with everyone not in sympathy with the ruling party, are afraid of express-

ing themselves. Even if they dared do so, they have not the means of making heard their complaints. The Government invariably denies these or invests them with a totally different complexion. We hear at times through our Missionaries in the interior, but the difficulties and dangers of correspondence are so great as to render their news only fragmentary and occasional.

The situation is one of mutual fear. Fear on the part of the Armenians who recall the past massacres and fear on the part of the Government at alleged or dreaded conspiracies. Their distrust of all non-Moslems which may often be more apparent than real in order to create rifts in the population has recently been manifested in various ways. In the army they have for the most part been disarmed in common with the Greek soldiers and employed in manual employment. Here a most stringent regulation compelling all inhabitants to deliver their weapons to the authorities under penalty of death, has I understand, been applied differently in the case of Moslems who have been authorized to retain their arms. The recent expulsion measures against the non-Moslem inhabitants of the Bosphorus have caused grave hardships to an eminently peaceful community. Hardly a day passes without hearing of some new measures of vexation. Short of the actual taking of life, of which there appear as yet to have been but few cases, the period we are traversing is one of very severe repression. Those out of sympathy with the Committee of Union and Progress, describe it as a reign of terror. It is a situation which at a time like this when restraining elements are few may easily lead to the most serious and the saddest consequences.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed) H. MORGENTHAU

Enclosure: as stated.

American Hospital
Konia, Turkey.

May 6, 1915.

Hon. Henry Morgenthau,
U.S.Ambassador to Turkey.

My Dear Sir:-

I have just received your telegram saying that you had received no telegram from me sent on Sunday. It was to this effect; 2000 Arme-

nian refugees from Zeitoum and vicinity are here. Can you give them aid through me? It was addressed to the American Red Cross through you. I presume you are not without knowledge of the facts but I will give you what I know. These people have been brought here during a week past, several hundred every night, on the train. From Tarsus to Bezanti they went on foot. They are principally women and children. My first information was that they were all women and children and old men, but I found that was not so. They have bedding and clothing to a certain extent but very insufficient. They have absolutely no cooking utensils, and for a month since they started have had absolutely nothing to eat but bread and sometimes some olives and cheese. The Government has been giving them once loaf of bread apiece per day, but nothing for children under five years old. There are now 4000 here.

I went to the Police Mudis and asked permission to see them and was refused. The second time I went permission was granted, a police officer being present, so that I could get very little information. I went again and asked permission to give aid to them in the name of the Red Cross. Since this is a Red Cross Hospital I considered myself sufficiently authorized to use the name, and intended to do something with contributions raised here. The Armenians begged me to undertake it, putting their contributions into my hands, as Red Cross funds. The Mudis refused permission, telling me to wait until the Vali should come. The Vali came last night, and I called on him to-day. He told me that they were not in any need, and that I would not be allowed to give aid. I asked to see them and he refused. He told me that they are all to be sent elsewhere to-morrow, declining to say where. It has been said by the officials that they are to be distributed among the villages, a few families in each place. This to my mind means destruction to them all. It is a massacre in another form. They have no means of existence, the villagers, all Turks, cannot be expected to feed them, the Government rations cannot be continued in the villages.

Here they have been crowded into House and schools, and so close that it was difficult to find space to get about. That they were famishingly hungry and utterly wretched I have evidence both from my own eyesight, and testimony of others. A Turk this morning described some of it that he had seen. They are kept hundred on these few places with soldiers on guard at the door. In going from the station they are driven by the soldiers, who beat the women and even prod them on with their bayonets. The crying of the children, the women almost falling and being pushed on by the guards, the scanty

clothing, make a sight that one does not want to see again. The Turks in market greeted them with " Are not these Giaours dead yet" and other such remarks. A baby was born on the train last night, and the mother threw it out of the window that its sufferings might end at once.

As far as I could learn there are but 70 families from Zeitoum itself, the rest being from neighboring villages. It seems that their cattle came with them as far as Bozant, and has remained there, a prey to robbers or to the military requisition.

I would beg for aid for them from the Red Cross, and if you could secure a peremptory order to allow me to give it, perhaps I might succeed, but I confess that when they are scattered far and wide, under the present conditions of Government, I do not see how it would be possible. I reminded the Vali that two years ago I distributed a large amount of aid to the Moslem refugees who came here, and that it was not a matter of nationality but of human suffering. He only said that their soldiers needed clothing more these Armenians.

We hear all sorts of rumors of the state of things in Constantinople at this time, and I understand well, that it may entirely out of the question to do anything at all in this matter, even in the way of giving relief.

I wrote you a brief letter to-day and sent it by registered post, but have little hope of its reaching you. I am keeping this to send by some special opportunity. I went to the Telegraph office and demanded the return of my money for the "Mustajel" telegram sent you. They looked up the record and assured me that it had been sent from here, and any fault must be inquired into at Constantinople. I enclose the receipt for you to use if you think it worth while to complain of your telegrams not being delivered to you.

The young girl who was a teacher in the Bot School in Afion Kara Hissar arrived here last night to take refuge with us. She reports 60 of the prominent men of the Botstants and Gregorians exiled from there. In Konia men are wondering how soon their turn will come.

A train load of wounded from Constantinople is to arrive here to-morrow. I am sending out twenty of my patients in order to make room to receive some.

With best regards,
Sincerely yours,
William S. Dodd.

R.G. 59, 867.4016/72

No. 256.

AMERICAN CONSULATE,
Aleppo, Syria, May 12, 1915.

Subject: DEPORTATION OF ARMENIANS
(From Consul J. B. Jackson, Aleppo, Syria.)

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

SIR:

I have the honor to transmit, of even date herewith, a copy of despatch No. 276 addressed to the Embassy at Constantinople, subject. "Deportation of Armenians" and which is supplementary to my previous despatch No. 254 [867.00/761]., of April 21, (File No. 840.1). A copy hereof is enclosed for the information of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Beacon St., Boston, should the Department consider it advisable to forward the same. However, conditions here are such that it would not be wise to give any publicity of the writer's name.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed) J.B. JACKSON

Enclosures:

1/, and 2/, as above stated

840.1/360

The Honorable
Henry Morgenthau,
American Ambassador Extraordinary & Plenipotentiary,
Constantinople, Turkey.

SIR:

I have the honor to report as follows in reference to the attitude of the Turkish Government towards the Christians (Armenians) in Zeitoun and Marash and the surrounding towns and villages, and supplementary to my despatch No. 269 of April 21 1915:

Between 4,300 and 4,500 families, about 28,000 persons, are being

removed by order of the Government from the districts of Zeitoun and Marash to distant places where they are unknown, and in distinctly non-Christian communities. Thousands have already been sent to the northwest into the provinces of Konia, Cesarea, Castimouni, etc., while others have been taken southeasterly as far as Dier-el-Zor, and reports say to the vicinity of Bagdad. The misery these people are suffering is terrible to imagine. To go into details would be a useless waste of time, for all the sufferings that a great community would be subject to in such circumstances are being experienced. Their property they are unable to sell as they are given but a few hours to prepare for the journey, and the Government is installing Moham-medan families in their homes, and who take possession of everything as soon as the Armenians have departed. Rich and poor alike, Protestant, Gregorian Orthodox, and Catholic, are all subject to the same order. The local pastors and priests and their flocks without distinction. The old, middle aged, young, the strong and the sick, being driven in herds to the four points of the compass to a fate of which none can predict. Few are permitted the opportunity of riding except occasionally on an ox or a donkey, the sick drop by the wayside, women in critical condition giving birth to children that, according to reports, many mothers strangle or drown because of lack of means to care for. Fathers exiled in one direction, mothers in another, and young girls and small children in still another. According to reports from reliable sources the accompanying gendarmes are told they may do as they wish with the women and girls. The writer has personally seen several parties of the men that passed through Aleppo, and who were in a most deplorable plight, and wonders what must have been the condition of the others that naturally were much less able to resist such treatment.

In Marash alone there are 6 Gregorian Orthodox Armenian churches, 1 Armenian Congregational, 1 Armenian Catholic, and 1 Latin Catholic church, about 18 Armenian schools, 1 American, 1 German school, 1 American girls' orphanage, 1 German orphanage, and a German hospital, practically all of which will be left without congregations or attendance.

About 300 persons, heads of prominent families, have been imprisoned in Marash, of which some 50 are from Zeitoun and about 50 from Osmanié. From Zeitoun about 350 families, or about 2,000 persons have been sent to Marash and from there to Aintab, and are expected to arrive in Aleppo about May 15, to be sent to Meskené, while about 250 or more families are expected to follow before May 20 to report to

the Governor of Aleppo. These latter are more fortunate than the first mentioned, as there is a different opinion prevailing in the competent official circles of this city. Seventyone families were sent to Konia about April 25. A traveller coming from Constantinople said that he met about 4,500 of these unfortunates on the way that were bound for Konia, and his description of their condition was appalling. The Armenians themselves say that they would by far have preferred a massacre, which would have been less disastrous to them.

Copy hereof is being transmitted to the Department of State, in duplicate.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed) J.B. JACKSON
American Consul.

840.1/360.

R.G. 59, 867.4016/72

July 10, 1915

The Reverend James L. Barton,
American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.
14 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

SIR:

The Department herewith transmits to you for your information a copy of a despatch, dated May 12th, from the American Consul at Aleppo, Syria, on the subject of the deportation of Armenians. This despatch is sent you at the suggestion of the American Consul at Aleppo, who, however, in his despatch to the Department, after suggesting the transmission of this despatch to you, adds: "Conditions here are such that it would not be wise to give any publicity of the writer's name."

I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
ROBERT LANSING

Enclosure:

From Aleppo Consul,
May 12, 1915.

867.4016/72

3 P/P1

R.G. 59, 867.4016/74

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

From Constantinople

Dated July 10, 1915,

Recd 14th, 10:20 a.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

841, July 10, 9 A.M.

Strictly confidential. My 778, June 18, 6 p m. Persecution of Armenians assuming unprecedented proportions. Reports from widely scattered districts indicate systematic attempts to uproot peaceful Armenian populations and through arbitrary arrests, terrible tortures, wholesale expulsions and deportations from one end of the Empire to the other accompanied by frequent instances of rape, pillage, and murder, turning into massacre, to bring destruction and destitution on them. These measures are not in response to popular or fanatical demand but are purely arbitrary and directed from Constantinople in the name of military necessity, often in districts where no military operations are likely to take place. The Moslem and Armenian populations have been living in harmony but because Armenian volunteers, many of them Russian subjects, have joined Russian army in the Caucasus and because some have been implicated in armed revolutionary movements and others have been helpful to Russians in their invasion of Van district terrible vengeance is being taken. Most of the sufferers are innocent and have been loyal to Ottoman Government. Nearly all are old men, women, all the men from twenty to forty-five are in Turkish army. The victims find themselves dispossessed from their homes and sent on foot to be dispersed in districts where they are unknown and no provisions have been made to lodge or to feed them. We have in several places been refused permission to relieve their misery or to have access to them. In some few instances where they opposed these measures and took refuge in the mountains and some arms or bombs were found it provoked the authorities to further cruelties which they attempt to justify by the opposition. Untold misery, disease, starvation and loss of life will go on unchecked. Consul Davis of Harput reports quote: 'Professors American College have been tortured. Some others have died under torture or lost mind. Many hundred young Armenian men originally taken as soldiers, some of whom were students American College, have been sent away without food, clothing or money. Night of June 23 several hundred

CLASSIFICATION CANCELED AUTHORITY LETTER
OF 1-8-58 FROM W. H. ANDERSON, STATE DEPT
BY *James J. Ryck* DATE *5 May 61*

WSB TELEGRAM RECEIVED GREEN CIPHER



From Constantinople

Dated July 10, 1915,

Recd July 15 1915 20 am.

ADDITION OF
ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

Secretary of State,
Washington.

841, July 10, 9 A.M.

~~strictly confidential.~~

My 778, June

18, 6 p m. Persecution of Armenians assuming unprecedented proportions. Reports from widely scattered districts indicate systematic attempts to uproot peaceful Armenian populations and through arbitrary arrests, terrible tortures, wholesale expulsions and deportations from one end of the Empire to the other accompanied by frequent instances of rape, pillage, and murder, turning into massacre, to bring destruction and destitution on them. These measures are not in response to popular or fanatical demand but are purely arbitrary and directed from Constantinople in the name of military necessity, often in districts where no military operations are likely to take place. The Moslem and Armenian populations have been living in harmony but because.

Deciphered by

Index No. No. 11

INDEX OF NEWS

Confidential info.

8674016/74

CLASSIFICATION CANCELED AUTHORITY LETTER
OF 1-8-58 FROM W. H. ANDERSON, STATE DEPT

BY J. J. [unclear] DATE 5 Aug 61

TELEGRAM RECEIVED.

From Constantinople, page 2
July 10, 9 a m

cause Armenians volunteers, many of them Russian subjects, have joined Russian army in the Caucasus and ^{because} some have been implicated in armed revolutionary movements and others have been helpful to Russians in their invasion of Van district terrible vengeance is being taken. Most of the sufferers are innocent and have been loyal to Ottoman Government. Nearly all are old men, women, all the men from twenty to forty-five are in Turkish army. The victims find themselves dispossessed from their homes and sent on foot to be dispersed in districts where they are unknown and no provisions have been made to lodge or to feed them. We have in several places been refused permission to relieve their misery or to have access to them. In some few instances where they opposed these measures and took refuge in the mountains and some arms or bombs were found it provoked the authorities to further cruelties which they attempt to justify by the opposition. Untold misery, disease, starvation and loss of life will go on unchecked. Consul Davis of Harput reports quote: Professors American College

Deciphered by

other Armenians recently arrested, including professors American College, were sent away in the middle of the night without food, clothing or money. Many deaths are reported en route in both lots of prisoners. Preparations are being made apparently to send away many more. I was informed confidentially to-day that an enormous sum of money is now being demanded of the local Armenians. There seems to be a systematic plan to crush the Armenian race.

All things make us apprehend permanent closing of American schools."

That only refers to one place. Many Armenians are becoming Moslems to avoid persecution. In addition to humanitarian considerations we have a real interest through the fact that certain objectionable Armenians involved in these forced disposessions and deportations are naturalized citizens of the United States and that the charitable and educational work of the American board will suffer considerably and in many places will cease altogether.

The only Embassy here which might assist in lessening these atrocities is the German but I believe it will simply content itself with giving advice and a formal protest probably intended for record and to cover itself from future responsibility. German Ambassador is about to leave on a six weeks vacation. Have impressed on him that he and his Government will have considerable share in the odium. Immediately upon the arrival of his substitute I shall make herculean efforts to enlist his sympathies. Austrian Ambassador has promised me to try to influence Minister of the Interior.

I have repeatedly spoken to the Grand Vizier and pleaded earnestly with Minister of the Interior and Minister of War to stop this persecution. My arguments were unavailing except as to Constantinople. The men in authority are revolutionists and displace the Hamidian Government with the cooperation of some Armenian revolutionists who know their method and are feared by them as a possible nucleus of a # against the present authorities. They admit that they will resort to any and every means to prevent their losing control of Government. They state that it is the Union and Progress committee's nationalistic policy which they refused to modify even when Russia, France and Great Britain threatened Ottoman Cabinet Ministers with personal responsibility. Turkish authorities desire to avail themselves of present conditions when three of the great powers are at War with them, Italy in strained relations , and the two others are their allies and therefore will not interfere when they are successfully defending the formidable attack at the Dardanelles.

CLASSIFICATION CANCELED AUTHORITY LETTER
OF 1-8-58 FROM W. H. ANDERSON, STATE DEPT

BY James E. Galt DATE 3 May 61

TELEGRAM SENT.

GREEN CIPHER

PREPARING OFFICE
WILL INDICATE WHETHER

Collect
Charge Department
on
Charge to
\$



Department of State, *JKF*

Washington, July 17, 1915. *4p*

JUL 16 1915

Ambassy,

Constantinople.

865 Your 841, July tenth. Department approves your
procedure in pleading with Turkish Minister of Interior,
and Minister of War to stop Armenian persecution, and
in attempting to enlist sympathies of German and Austrian
Ambassadors in this cause. The Department can offer no
additional suggestions relative to this most difficult
situation other than that you continue to act as in the
past. Have any native born American citizens, or any
naturalized American citizens, entitled to protection
under American statutes, received injuries during this
trouble?

Lausius

867.4016/74

3 P/Pl

WJ

Enciphered by

Sent by operator

Index No. - No. 88

867.4016/74

I have conferred with various American missionaries now here Tajmarsovan, Beirut, Bardizag and Constantinople and all agree that present crisis is worse than 1895 and 1896 massacres but none of them could suggest any further steps than those I have already taken. They fear that the matter will have to run its course. Turkish authorities have definitely informed me that I have no right to interfere with their internal affairs. Still I desire to ask whether you have any suggestions.

AMERICAN AMBASSADOR,
Constantinople.

R.G. 59, 867.4016/74

TELEGRAM SENT
Department of State,
Washington, July 15 [16], 1915.

Amembassy,
Constantinople.

Your 841, July tenth. Department approves your procedure in pleading with Turkish Minister of Interior and Minister of War to stop Armenian persecution and in attempting to enlist sympathies of German and Austrian Ambassadors in this cause. The Department can offer no additional suggestions relative to this most difficult situation other than that you continue to act as in the past. Have any native born American citizens or any naturalized American citizens entitled to protection under American statutes received injuries during this trouble?

(Signed) LANSING

867.4016/74

3 P/P1

R.G. 59, 867.4016/77

AMERICAN CONSULATE,
Aleppo, Syria, June 5, 1915.

SUBJECT: Armenian Outrages.

THE HONORABLE
THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
WASHINGTON.

SIR:

I have the honor to enclose herewith a copy of my report to the Embassy of even date, relative to Armenian outrages in this district.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed) J.B. JACKSON,
Consul.

840.1

Enclosure as above.

AMERICAN CONSULATE.
Aleppo, Syria, June 5, 1915.

No. 289

The Honorable
Henry Morgenthau,
American Ambassador,
Constantinople

Sir:

With further reference to my despatch No. 276 of May 12, last, relative to the action of the Ottoman Government in sending the Armenians from their homes in various parts of Northern Syria and Southwestern Asia Minor and scattering them over the adjacent country, I have the honor to report as follows:

There is a living stream of Armenians pouring into Aleppo from the surrounding towns and villages, the principal ones being Marash, Zeitoun, Hassanbeyli, Osmania, Baghtche, Adana, Dortyol, Haddin, etc. They all come under a heavily armed escort, usually from 300 to 500 at a time, and consist of old men, women and children; all the middle aged and young men having been taken for military service.

AMERICAN CONSULATE.

Aleppo, Syria, June 5, 1915.

No. 289

The Honorable

Henry Morgenthau,

American Ambassador,

Constantinople.

Sir:

With farther reference to my despatch No. 276 of May 12, last, relative to the action of the Ottoman Government in sending the Armenians from their homes in various parts of Northern Syria and Southwestern Asia Minor and scattering them over the adjacent country, I have the honor to report as follows:

There is a living stream of Armenians pouring into Aleppo from the surrounding towns and villages, the principal ones being Marash, Zeitoun, Hassambeyli, Omsania, Baghtake, Adana, Dortyol, Hadjin, etc. They all come under a heavily armed escort, usually from 300 to 500 at a time, and consist of old men, women and children; all the middle aged and young men having been taken for military service. No animals are provided by the Government, and those that are not fortunate enough to have means of transport are forced to make the journey on foot. They are taken away from their homes with only the clothes they wear and such scattered belongings as they carry with them.

Several expeditions have arrived here and have been taken care of locally by the sympathizing Armenian population of this city. A few days rest in the churches and schools, where they fill all rooms, courts, balconies and even cover the roofs; then they are forced to con-

time

No animals are provided by the Government, and those that are not fortunate enough to have means of transport are forced to make the journey on foot. They are taken away from their homes with only the clothes they wear and such scattered belongings as they carry with them.

Several expeditions have arrived here and have been taken care of locally by the sympathizing Armenian population of this city. A few days rest in the churches and schools, where they fill all rooms, courts, balconies and even cover the roofs; then they are forced to continue the journey to some out of the way place where there is neither shelter, food nor means of possible existence. Travellers report meeting thousands in such localities as Anah on the Euphrates River, five or six days journey from Bagdad, where they are being scattered over the desert to starve or die of disease in the burning heat, accustomed as they were to the higher altitudes.

I am reliably informed that there are at present more than 2,600 of such people in Aleppo, and know that more than that number have been taken out from here and scattered in various directions. According to reports more than 25,000 people have already been taken from their homes and are at the mercy of strangers of antagonistic religious beliefs who martyrize and torture them in various ways. This much has been accomplished in the vicinity of Aleppo.

Trustworthy persons report that in the interior a perfect reign of terror exists, especially at Diarbekir. The same parties report that 300 prominent Christians at that place have been imprisoned in the course of the search for arms and proofs of disloyalty toward the Government; while other reports place the number of victims as high as 1,000. It is also stated that 22 have been beaten to death in the efforts to make them divulge information they did not possess. Some cases of bastinadoing have been treated by physicians, the injured feet having to be operated on to prevent amputation. It is believed that great numbers have been beaten to death. Such has been the condition there since about April 25, last; this is also true of the villages and towns in the country surrounding that city.

One person states that :-

"Christians have been drafted to work on the new barracks of the Army there. These men receive 2 piasters (9 cents) a day for their work; men sent to work on roads at a distance do not receive enough to live on and are compelled to draw upon those at home for money and food."

- 4 -

to these conditions, under the representations that it can only lead to the greatest blame and reproach, but all to no avail. It is without doubt a carefully planned scheme to thoroughly extinguish the Armenian race.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

F. B. Jackson

Consul.

840.1

Copies sent to the Department and Consulate General.

"These men are not allowed to remain in their homes at night, like most of the inhabitants of the city, but are held as prisoners lest they desert; their quarters are vile and filthy, with no accommodations whatsoever in the way of toilet rooms. The men are not permitted to leave their quarters even temporarily."

"The sick are unattended, and unless there are friends the hungry go unfed."

"Gendarmes are recruits worry, annoy and persecute the people of the cities and villages unmercifully. Blackmail is collected generally by the gendarmes."

"A few villages in the Moush plain, Keizan, Modgan and Garjgan (Van Vilayet) seem to have been destroyed by government orders because the inhabitants tried to protect themselves."

Hundreds of individual cases of persecution such as blackmailing, beating, imprisoning, etc., could be stated but which would lend no further weight to the general statement of outrages that are being practiced daily upon a defenseless and inoffensive people that demand nothing more than to be given a chance to eke out at the best a miserable existence.

The Government has been appealed to by various prominent people and even by those in authority to put an end to these conditions, under the representations that it can only lead to the greatest blame and reproach, but all to no avail. It is without doubt a carefully planned scheme to thoroughly extinguish the Armenian race.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed) J.B. JACKSON
Consul.

840.1

Copies sent to the Department and Consulate General.

R.G. 59, 867.4016/83

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

From Constantinople
Dated July 31, 1915,
Recd. August 3, 10 AM.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

893, July 31, 5 p m.

My 841 (867.4016/74) and 858 (867.4016/76). Doctor Lepsius President of German-Orient Mission which maintains six Armenian orphan asylums in Turkey, has information from reliable source that Armenians, mostly women and children, deported from the Erzerum district, have been massacred near Kemakh between Erzinghan and Harput. Similar reports comes from other sources showing that but few of these unfortunate people will ever reach their stated destination. Their lot inexpressibly pitiable. The Doctor proposes to submit matter to International Red Cross for common action to try to induce Germany to demand cessation of these horrors. He earnestly requests access to information Embassy has on file. Will give him if Department has no objection.

M O R G E N T H A U,
American Ambassador

R.G. 59, 867.4016/83

TELEGRAM SENT

Department of State
Washington, August 4, 1915.

Amembassy,
Constantinople.

Your 893, July 31. You are authorized to use your discretion in matter of giving Lepsius access to files.

(Signed) LANSING

867.4016/83

3 P/P1

R.G. 59, 867.4016/85

Copy for Department
AMERICAN CONSULATE

TREBIZOND TURKEY, June 28, 1915.

Honorable Henry Morgenthau,
American Ambassador,
Constantinople.

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose herewith for the information of the Embassy a copy of the proclamation which has been posted up in public places by the local authorities notifying the Armenians that within five days from its date, namely, on Thursday, July 1st, the entire Armenian population of Trebizond and vicinity including men, women and children will be obliged to turn over to the government such property as they cannot take with them and start for the interior, probably for Eldjezireh or Mosul where they will remain until the end of the war. Upon their return after the war their goods will be returned to them.

It is impossible to convey an idea of the consternation and despair the publication of this proclamation has produced upon the people. I have seen strong, proud, wealthy men weep like children while they told me that they had given their boys and girls to Persian and Turkish neighbors. I know of one Armenian woman who is not in Dr. Crawford's house who has become insane and two other such cases are reported in the same vicinity. Many are providing themselves with poison which they will take in case the order is not rescinded.

At the present time there are no means of transportation available. All horses, wagons and vehicles have been requisitioned for military purposes and the only way for these people to go is on foot, a journey of sixty days or more. At this season of the year in the heat and dust it is simply impossible for women and children and old men to start on such a journey. Even a strong man without the necessary outfit and food would be likely to perish on such a trip.

As I am not permitted to use the cipher code it does not seem best to send an open telegram to the Embassy on this subject, but I have talked with my Austro-Hungarian colleague who has the privilege to use a code and have requested him to express my hearty concurrence with him in urging that some measures be taken at Constantinople to

secure a withdrawal of this order if possible or at least a modification so as to spare the old men, women and children from such a journey which would mean their certain destruction.

I called upon the Governor General and asked if some exceptions could not be made and he read to me the enclosed proclamation which he thereupon handed to me saying that he was obliged to follow the text of the proclamation. He assured me however that he had telegraphed to Constantinople asking that a an exception be made for Armenians in official positions which I told him I hoped would include the two consular cavasses and clerk who are Armenians.

I enclose a copy of the "Meshveret", dated Sunday, June 27th, which is the official organ of the government published in Trebizond. It contains an article in regard to excesses said to have been committed by Armenians and Greeks upon the family of a Turkish Emam (Priest) at Erganess. Whether it is true or not it is an unfortunate thing to publish here just at this juncture. I have been informed furthermore that there are no Greeks whatever in that section of the country, which would seem to throw doubt upon the whole story.

The people are hopeless but are making preparations to start on the perilous journey. I trust that before the date of departure some modification may be secured.

As there is not time to make translations of the two Turkish enclosures before the mail closes I send them without translations.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed) OSCAR S. HEIZER
American Consul

Enclosures:

As stated.

R.G. 59, 867.4016/92

AMERICAN EMBASSY
Constantinople

July 13, 1915.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:-

I have the honor to enclose herewith for the information of the

Department copies, in duplicate, of a despatch received from the American Consul at Aleppo, dated June 28, 1915, embodying a report prepared by Rev. F.H. Leslie, relative to the condition of the Armenians in Ourfa.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed) H. MORGANTHAU

Enclosure: copies in duplicate
dated June 28, 1915.

303

AMERICAN CONSULATE

Aleppo, Syria, June 28, 1915.

The Honorable,
Henry Morgenthau,
American Ambassador,
Constantinople, Turkey.

Sir:

I have the honor to quote the following from a communication dated the 14 instant received from Rev. F. H. Leslie, of Ourfa, viz:

"I wish to inform you of conditions here. They are very bad and daily getting worse. I suppose that the Maynards told you of the horrible things taking place in Diarbekir. Just such a reign of terror has begun in this city also. Daily the police are searching the houses of the Armenians for weapons, and not finding any, they are taking the best and most honorable men and imprisoning them; some of them they are exiling, and others they are torturing with red hot irons to make them reveal the supposedly concealed weapons. Four weeks ago they exiled fifteen men and their families sending them to the desert city of Rakka, three days journey south of here. Among these men our own native assistant business manager, Soghomon Knadjian, who has been a trusted and tried and faithful servant of the American Mission here for twenty years and a most loyal subject of the Sultan. With Mr. Gracey gone and no experienced help besides this man it has been impossible for me to continue the mission work since he was taken. I personally went to the Mutessarif and offered to be surety for Knadjian, agreeing to deliver him over to the Government at any time that they asked for him, if they would allow him to return and continue his

work in the Mission, but met with a courteous refusal. The Gendarmery Department seems to have full control of affairs and the Mutessarif upholds them. They are now holding about a hundred of the best citizens of the city in prison, and today the Gendarmery chief called the Armenian Bishop and told him that unless the Armenians deliver their arms and the revolutionists among them, that he has orders to exile the entire Armenian population of Ourfa, as they did the people of Zeitoun. We know how the latter were treated for hundreds of them have been dragged through Ourfa on their way to the desert whither they have been exiled. These poor exiles were mostly women, children and old men, and they were clubbed and beaten and lashed along as though they had been wild animals, and their women and girls were daily criminally outraged both by their guards and the ruffians of every village through which they passed as the former allowed the latter to enter the camp of the exiles at night and even distributed the girls among the villagers for the night. These poor victims of their oppressors' lust and hate might better have died by the bullet in their mountain home than be dragged about the country in this way. About two thousand of them have passed through Ourfa, all more dead than alive: many hundreds have died from starvation and abuse along the roadside, and nearly all are dying of starvation, thirst, of being kidnapped by the Anaza Arabs in the desert where they have been taken. We know how they are being treated because our Ourfa exiles are in the same place and one young Armenian doctor who was there making medical examination of soldiers for the Government has returned and told us."

"Now this is the fate which is in store for the Ourfa Armenians also unless some one delivers them. Having seen how the Zeitoun exiles have been treated the Ourfa Armenians have said they will never submit to exile but will die in their homes instead, and who can blame them? We greatly fear that the cruel persecuting attitude of the Gendarmery in seizing, beating and torturing the people will drive some of them to such desperation that they will resist, and that will surely provoke a general massacre. Up to date the Armenian Bishop and Protestant pastors have been most earnest and successful in keeping the young men especially under restraint and this has prevented any outburst thus far, but as the Government is daily taking the wisest and best leaders of the people and imprisoning them there are few left to restrain the others. The officers of the Government told the Armenian Bishop plainly that unless they delivered their arms the Armenians here would be destroyed, but the people fear to deliver-

their arms for they remember that in 1895 the Government made all the Christians deliver their arms and as soon as they had done so, the Moslems fell upon the Christians and killed six thousand of them in two days. Now if the Government would make the Moslems give up their weapons also the Christians would cheerfully deliver theirs, but the Government is not taking weapons from the Moslems. Ourfa is not a revolutionary center and never has been. The people here have always been loyal to the Government and have never resisted, not even when they were butchered like sheep. Why the local Government persists in persecuting a population that has always had a good record for loyalty is very strange. There is no revolutionary organization here; there may be thirty or forty men of revolutionary beliefs, but there has been no propaganda and no organization. Can you report this matter to the Embassy? Perhaps the German and American Embassies together can change the attitude of the Government towards the Christians"

Trusting that the foregoing will prove of interest to the Embassy,
I have the honor etc. etc. (Signed): Jackson

R.G. 59, 867.4016/93

AMERICAN EMBASSY
Constantinople

July 13, 1915

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:-

Supplementing my despatch of June 26, 1915, (867.4016/80) with reference to the Armenian Situation, I have the honor to enclose herewith copies, in duplicate, of a despatch on the same subject received from the American Consul at Trebizond.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed) H. MORGENTHAU

Enclosure: copies in duplicate
dated June 30, 1915.

AMERICAN CONSULATE

Trebizond, June 30th, 1915.

Honorable Henry Morgenthau
American Ambassador
Constantinople.

Sir:-

After mailing my despatch of June 28th to the Embassy further information was received from an eyewitness of the terrible sufferings of the Armenians who were recently expelled from the vicinity of Baibourt and Erezeroum. A Turkish teamster (Mohammedan) who has just returned from Erzerum told a well known Armenian merchant here, with tears in his eyes, of the wretched condition of about 150 Armenian women and children he came upon near Ashkelah in a plain about ten hours from Erzerum. Most of them were nearly naked, all were hungry, many were carrying children. The Turk said he gave them all the money he had to buy bread but realizing his inability to do anything for them of importance and unable to view their sufferings he hurried away.

A gendarme who has recently returned from the region says that the deported people are wandering about in the forests and on the mountains, some of them naked, having been robbed of their honor and of their clothing. Under these circumstances the Armenians of Trebizond, who are aware of the situation there, fully believe that if they are deported from this place they will suffer like treatment on the journey before them. It is probable that they will be sent to Mosul or Eldjezereh although there has been an effort made to have the government change their destination to Gumushhane which is in this vilayet.

The Vali informed that it had been decided to make an exception in favor of old men and women, widows, women expecting to give birth soon, and Armenians in the employment of the Turkish government, but the others would all be sent away.

In the evening of the 28th I advised Dr. Crawford to send an urgent telegram to Mr. Peet regarding the children and teachers in his school, and to request that an effort be made in Constantinople to secure an exception in their favor, to include, if possible, the women and children generally. I offered to send the telegram through the Embassy with the expectation that it would not be stopped and while the information would reach the Embassy first it would not appear to the local authorities here that the consulate was taking too active a part in an affair between the Turkish government and its own subjects.

The Vali has agreed not to molest the Armenian dragoman and two Armenian cavasses of this consulate.

My Colleagues the German and Austro-Hungarian Consuls are working hard to secure some modification of the harsh measures, especially in favor of the women and children, by representations here and through their respective Embassies.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant
Signed: Oscar S. Heizer,
American Consul

R.G. 59, 867.4016/97

No. 1130.

AMERICAN CONSULATE GENERAL

Beirut, Syria, July 6th, 1915.

SUBJECT: Persecution of the Armenians.

THE HONORABLE

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON.

SIR:

I have the honor to transmit, herewith enclosed to the Department, a confirmation copy of a report upon the subject mentioned above, which I have posted to the Embassy, with the request that it be transmitted to the Department.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed) W. STANLEY HOLLIS
Consul General.

Enclosure:

Report on persecution of Armenians, by an American
Citizen and an eye witness.

CONFIRMATION COPY

A BRIEF STATEMENT OF THE PRESENT SITUATION OF THE
ARMENIAN EXILES IN THIS REGION. JUNE 20, 1915.

The deportation began some six weeks ago, with 180 families from Zeitoun; since which time, all the inhabitants of that place and its

neighboring villages have been deported: also most of the Christians in Albustan, many from Hadgin, Sis, Kars Pazar, Hassan Beyli and Deort Yol.

The numbers involved are approximately, to date, 26,500. Of these about 5,000 have been sent to the Konieh region, 5,500 are in Aleppo and surrounding towns and villages; and the remainder are in Der Zor, Racca, and various places in Mesopotamia, even as far as the neighborhood of Bagdad.

The process is still going on, and there is no telling how far it may be carried, the orders already issued will bring the number in this region up to 32,000, and there have been as yet none exiled from Aintab, and very few from Marash and Corfah. The following is the text of the Government order covering the case. Art. 2nd. "The Commanders of the Army, of independent army corps and of divisions may, in case of military necessity and in case they suspect espionage or treason, send away, either or in mass, the inhabitants of villages or towns, and instal them in other places."

The orders of Commanders may have been reasonably humane; but the execution of them has been for the most part unnecessarily harsh, and in many cases accompanied by horrible brutality to women and children, to the sick and the aged. Whole villages were deported at an hours notice, with no opportunity to prepare for the journey, not even in some cases to gether together the scattered members of the family, so that little children were left behind. At the mountain village of Geben the women were at the wash tub, and were compelled to leave their wet clothes in the water, and take the road barefooted and half clad just as they were. In some cases they were able to carry part of their scanty household furniture, or implements of agriculture, but for the most part they were neither to carry anything nor to sell it, even where there was time to do so.

In Hadgin well to do people, who had prepared food and bedding for the road, were obliged to leave it in the street, and afterward suffered greatly from hunger.

In many cases the men were (those of military age were nearly all in the army) bound tightly together with ropes or chains. Women with little children in their arms, or in the last days of pregnancy were driven along under the whip like cattle. Three different cases came under my knowledge where the woman was delivered on the road, and because her brutal driver hurried her along she died of hemorrhage. I also know of one case where the gendarme in charge was a humane man, and allowed the poor woman several hours rest and then procured a

wagon for her to ride in. Some women became so completely worn out and hopeless that they left their infants beside the road. Many women and girls have been outraged. At one place the commander of gendarmerie openly told the men to whom he consigned a large company, that they were at liberty to do what they choose with the women and girls.

As to subsistence, there has been a great difference in different places. In some places the Government has fed them, in some places it has permitted the inhabitants to feed them. In some places it has neither fed them nor permitted others to do so. There has been much hunger, thirst and sickness and some real starvation, and death.

These people are being scattered in small units, three or four families in a place, among a population of different race and religion, and speaking a different language. I speak of them as being composed of families, but four fifths of them are women and children, and what men there are are for the most part old or incompetent.

If a means is not found to aid them through the next few months, until they get established in their new surroundings, two thirds or three fourths of them will die of starvation and disease.

R.G. 59, 867.4016/122

AMERICAN EMBASSY
CONSTANTINOPLE

No. 389

August 10, 1915.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

S i r:

With reference to my previous despatches relative to the Armenian atrocities, I have the honor to transmit to you herewith in duplicate copy of a despatch from Consul Davis at Harput, dated June 11th, 1915, together with a copy of the testimony of a widow and a translation of a letter received from the Armenian revolutionary society "Dashnakzoutioun", dated August 2nd, 1915.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed) H. MORGENTHAU

Enclosures:

- 1/ Consul Davis to Mr. Morgenthau, June 11, 1915.
- 2/ Testimony of Widow Victoria K. Barutjibashian.
- 3/ Letter of "Dashnakzoutioun", August 2, 1915.

800.

Honorable Henry H. Morgenthau,
American Ambassador,
Constantinople.

Sir:-

I have the honor to supplement my report of June 30th (File No.840.1 in regard to the expulsion of the Armenians from this region, as follows:

On July 1st a great many people left and on July 3rd several thousand more started from here. Others left on subsequent days. There is no way of obtaining figures but many thousand have already left. The departure of those living at Harpout was postponed, however, and many women and children were allowed to remain temporarily. People began to hope that the worst was over and that those who remained might be left along. Now it has just been announced by the public crier that on Tuesday, July 13th, every Armenian without exception, must go. If it were simply a matter of being obliged to leave here to go somewhere else it would not be so bad, but everyone knows it is a case of going to one's death. If there was any doubt about it, it has been removed by the arrival of a number of parties, aggregating several thousand people, from Erzeroum and Erzinggan. The first ones arrived a day or two after my last report was written. I have visited their encampment a number of times and talked with some of the people. A more pitiable sight cannot be imagined. They are almost without exception ragged, filthy, hungry and sick. That is not surprising in view of the fact that they have been on the road for nearly two months with no change of clothing, no chance to wash, no shelter and little to eat. The Government has been giving them some scanty rations here. I watched them one time when their food was brought. Wild animals could not be worse. They rushed upon the guards who carried the food and the guards beat them back with clubs hitting hard enough to kill them sometimes. To watch them one could hardly believe that these people were human beings.

As one walks through the camp mothers offer their children and beg one to take them. In fact, the Turks have been taking their choice of

these children and girls for slaves, or worse. In fact, they have even had their doctors there to examine the more likely girls and thus secure the best ones.

There are very few men among them, as most of them have been killed on the road. All tell the same story of having been attacked and robbed by the Kurds. Most of them were attacked over and over again and a great many of them, especially the men, were killed. Women and children were also killed. Many died, of course, from sickness and exhaustion on the way and there have been deaths each day that they have been here. Several different parties have arrived and after remaining a day or two have been pushed on with no apparent destination. Those who have reached here are only a small portion, however, of those who started. By continuing to drive these people on in this way it will be possible to dispose of all of them in a comparatively short time. Among those with whom I have talked were three sisters. They had been educated at Constantinople and spoke excellent English. They said their family was the richest in Erzeroum and numbered twenty-five when they left but there were now only fourteen survivors. The other eleven, including the husband of one of them and their old grandmother had been butchered before their eyes by the Kurds. The oldest male survivor of the family was eight years of age. When they left Erzeroum they had money, horses and personal effects but they had been robbed of everything, including even their clothing. They said some of them had been left absolutely naked and others with only a single garment. When they reached a village their gendarmes obtained clothes for them from some of the native women. Another girl with whom I talked is the daughter of the Protestant pastor of Erzeroum. She said every member of her family with her had been killed and she was left entirely alone. These and some others are a few survivors of the better class of people who have been exiled. They are being detained in an abandoned schoolhouse just outside of the town and no one is allowed to enter it. They said they practically in prison, although they were allowed to visit a spring just outside the building. It was there that I happened to see them. All the others are camped in a large open field with no protection at all from the sun.

The condition of these people indicates clearly the fate of those who have left and are about to leave from here. I believe nothing has been heard from any of them as yet and probably very little will be heard. The system that is being followed seems to be to have bands of Kurds awaiting them on the road to kill the men especially and incidentally some of the others. The entire movement seems to be the

most thoroughly organized and effective massacre this country has ever seen.

Not many men have been spared, however, to accompany those who are being sent into exile, for a more prompt and sure method has been used to dispose of them. Several thousand Armenian men have been arrested during the past few weeks. These have been put in prison and each time that several hundred had been gathered up in that way they were sent away during the night. The first lot were sent away during the night of June 23rd. Among them were some of the professors in the American college and other prominent Armenians, including the Prelate of the Armenian Gregorian Church of Harput. There have been frequent rumors that all of these were killed and there is little doubt that they were. All Armenian soldiers have likewise been sent away in the same manner. They have been arrested and confined in a building at one end of the town. No distinction has been made between those who had paid their military exemption tax and those who had not. Their money was accepted and then they were arrested and sent off with the others. It was said that they were to go somewhere to work on the roads but no one had heard from them and that is undoubtedly false.

The fate of all the others has been pretty well established by reliable reports of a similar occurrence on Wednesday, July 7th. On Monday many men were arrested both at Harput and Mezreh and put in prison. At daybreak Tuesday morning they were taken out and made to march towards an almost uninhabited mountain. There were about eight hundred in all and they were tied together in groups of fourteen each. That afternoon they arrived in a small Kurdish village where they were kept over night in the mosque and other buildings. During all this time they were without food or water. All their money and much of their clothing had been taken from them. On Wednesday morning they were taken to a valley a few hours' distant where they were all made to sit down. Then the gendarmes began shooting them until they had killed nearly all of them. Some who had not been killed by bullets were then disposed of with knives and bayonets. A few succeeded in breaking the rope with which they were tied to their companions and running away, but most of these were pursued and killed. A few succeeded in getting away, probably not more than two or three. Among those who were killed was the Treasurer of the American College. Many others estimable men were among the number. No charge of any kind had ever been made against any of these men. They were simply arrested and killed as part of the general plan to dispose of the Armenian race.

Last night several hundred more men, including both men arrested by the civil authorities and those enrolled as soldiers, were taken in a different direction and murdered in a similar manner. It is said this happened at a place not two hours' distant from here. I shall ride out that way some day when things become a little quieter and try to verify it for myself.

The same thing has been done systematically in the villages. A few weeks ago about three hundred men were gathered together at Iatchme and Haboosi, two villages four and five hours' distant from here, and then taken up into the mountains and massacred. This seems to be fully established. Many women from those villages have been here since and told about it. There have been rumors of similar occurrences in other places.

There seems to be a definite plan to dispose of all the Armenian men, but after the departure of the families during the first few days of the enforcement of the order it was announced that women and children with no men in the family might remain here for the present and many hoped that the worst was over. The American missionaries began considering plans to aid the women and children who would be left here with no means of support. It was thought that perhaps an orphanage could be opened to care for some of the children especially those who had been born in America and then brought here by their parents and also those who belonged to parents who had been connected in some way with the American Mission and schools. There would be plenty of opportunity, although there might not be sufficient means, to care for children who reached here with the exiles from other Vilayets and whose parents had died on the way. I went to see the Vali about this matter yesterday and was met with a flat refusal. He said we could aid these people if we wished to do so, but the Government was establishing orphanages for the children and we could not undertake any work of that nature. An hour after I left the Vali the announcement was made that all the Armenians remaining here, including women and children must leave on July 13th.

The evident plan of the Government is to give no opportunity for any educational or religious work to be done here by foreign missionaries. Some Armenian women will be taken as Moslem wives and some children will be brought up as Moslems, but none of them will be allowed to come under foreign influences. The country is to be purely Moslem and nothing else. Some of the missionaries think they would like to remain here and try to work among Moslems. I not only think it would be very dangerous for them to undertake it but do not

believe they will be allowed to do anything along that line. I shall not be surprised, as I have said before, if all the American missionaries are ordered to leave here in the near future. If they are not, they will be so effectually prevented from doing any kind of work that it will be entirely useless for them to remain here. Furthermore, they will be annoyed in many ways by the local officials. I do not think for a moment that they will be allowed to open any of the schools again and it is quite probably that the hospital may be ordered closed. It is very probable also that both the school and the hospital buildings may be seized by the Government. It seems certain that there will not be any work for them to do here and that they will not be permitted to do any work.

Under the circumstances, I think the only wise and safe thing for them to do is to consider the matter of leaving here, temporarily at least, as soon as it may be possible. I realize that it is a serious matter for them to abandon their work, but the present situation is serious too and I fully believe there is nothing else for them to do. It would probably not be best for all of them to leave together, but I am going to advise that some of them leave as soon as it may be safe to go. In the meantime I earnestly recommend that the Embassy bring to the attention of Mr. Peet and the board the possible necessity of all of them leaving here.

I do not think that any of them should go now. In fact, some of them have been quite firmly of the opinion that some one should go at once for the purpose of trying to raise a relief fund for these unfortunate people. To go now would be almost certain death, with bands of Kurds awaiting travelers on every road. I asked the Vali, however, if it would be all right for one or two of the Americans to leave here now to go to Constantinople and then to America and he said very plainly that it would not be safe. He said that no matter how much of a guard he gave them it would be dangerous for them to travel at the present moment and advised waiting a few weeks. This confirms the general fear as to the fate of those who are sent away from here. It also indicated that perhaps the authorities do not wish any real harm to befall the Americans. On the other hand, the Vali intimated that possibly the Americans might not be permitted to leave here. Some of them think that we know too much about what is happening in the interior of Turkey and the authorities do not intend to let any Americans leave here alive to tell about it. I do not think that, but I do think the life of every American here is in danger and that the danger is increasing. If all of the missionaries can get away safely I shall feel greatly relieved.

It is not only that the present situation is very critical, but they are constantly doing things that are more or less imprudent. The entire colony may suffer for the imprudence of one person. It is quite natural that they should sympathize with the people among whom they have been working and want to aid and protect them, but there is great danger of carrying their zeal too far and getting into trouble themselves.

With reference to the need of funds for the relief of these exiles, which I mentioned in my telegrams of June 27th and 28th and my despatch of June 30th I am inclined to believe that there will be no occasion for raising funds. It looks as though there were not going to be any people who can be helped. All who are sent away will probably be killed or die on the road within the next few months and the women and children who are left will probably have to become Moslems.

My attention has just been called to the fact that the post-office at Mamouret-ul-Aziz has refused to pay out money to the Americans that has been sent them from Erzroum and Erzingan for the exiles who have come here. It is probable that the Government will confiscate this money. I do not know whether the Embassy would care to take any measures about this or not. The money is addressed to the Americans, but it is intended for the Armenian exiles.

Embassy's telegram Nos. 19 and 20 have been received. I have seen the Vali about the naturalised American citizens and their children and about the consular staff. He said he had received no instructions about them, as I telegraphed this morning. I have now just received word that the consular staff and two or three women whose husbands are in America may stay here for the present. There seems to be nothing very definite about any of it. I shall be very glad to have these women leave as soon as it is reasonably safe for them to go. I hope it can be arranged for the employees of the Consulate, however, to remain here permanently, or at least as long as there may be a Consulate. It would be impossible to find any one to take their place.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
your obedient servant,
(Signed) LESLIE A. DAVIS
Consul.

R.G. 59, 867.4016/124

AMERICAN EMBASSY
CONSTANTINOPLE

August 15, 1915.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:-

I have the honor to enclose herewith for the information of the Department copies, in duplicate, of a despatch dated August 7, 1915, received from the American Consul at Mersine, relative to the Armenian deportations

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed) H. MORGENTHAU

Enclosure:
copies in duplicate
dated August 7.

Copy

No. 467

AMERICAN CONSULATE,
Mersina, Turkey, August 7, 1915.

The Honorable
Henry Morgenthau,
American Ambassador,
Constantinople, Turkey.

Sir:-

I have the honor to inform you that two days ago an order was received here for the immediate deportation of the entire Armenian population of Mersina consisting of about 1800 souls. Yesterday nearly three hundred persons were sent to Adana and to-day many more have been ordered to be ready to leave. In anticipation of their deportation the Armenians are selling all their non-portable goods for a song. Sewing machines sold for 1½ Medjidies, iron bedsteads for a few piasters, etc. The Government is allowing each person only a few metallics per day for food and transports only a little baggage. The present destination of the deported persons is Adana. Apart from their

actual distress and misery the terror of these people is indescribable. Stories of the massacre of thousands of Armenians in the interior now reach here. Some of these appear to be well founded but I presume the Embassy has been fully informed of what has transpired in the regions of Cesarea, Sivas and Diarbekir not to mention Van where the Armenians themselves are reported to be in control.

The local deportation order appears to have been hastened by the operations of some bands of Armenian outlaws who are said to have attacked villages near the border of this vilayet and Marash. The Vali has gone to the scene of the alleged outrages. The co-incident arrival of six British and French warships at Alexandretta several days ago is also stated to be connected with this matter.

A German orphanage at Harounie has been ordered closed by the authorities and the Americans here are apprehensive of similar action towards them if the deportations continue. For the present however the authorities show every consideration to the American institutions and their inmates. The two American ladies are still in Hadjin and again write that they prefer to remain there for the present rather than assume the risks of travel as the outlaws are active in that neighborhood.

A French warship visited this port yesterday but left without taking any action.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed): Edward I. Nathan
American Consul

800.

R.G. 59, 867.4016/126

AMERICAN EMBASSY
Constantinople

August 18, 1915.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:-

Referring further to previous correspondence regarding the attitude of the Turkish Government towards the Armenians in Turkey, I

have the honor to transmit to you herewith, for your information, duplicate copies of two despatches received from Consul Heizer at Trebizond and Consul Jackson at Aleppo, dated July 28th and August 3rd respectively.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed) H. MORGENTHAU

Enclosure: as stated.

AMERICAN CONSULATE
TREBIZOND

July 28, 1915.

Honorable Henry Morgenthau,
American Ambassador,
Constantinople.

Sir:-

I desire to write to you confidentially in regard to the events which have taken place here recently. I realize that it is absolutely essential for this consulate to maintain good relations with the Vali and other local officials otherwise it will not be in a position to render any service whatever to the interests confided to it to protect. This taken in connection with our isolated position and the general spirit of the Turks here which is very hostile to all outside suggestion and interference in their internal affairs, and a feeling that they are now masters of the situation, makes it necessary that one should be very discreet and prudent. It seems to me however that you should be kept fully informed of what is going on here although it may not interest us directly, being an affair between the Ottoman government and its own subjects.

On Saturday, June 26th, the proclamation regarding the deportation of all Armenians was posted in the streets. On Thursday, July 1st, all the streets were guarded by gendarmes with fixed bayonets, and the work of driving the Armenians from their homes began. Groups of men, women and children with loads and bundles on their backs were collected in a short cross street near the Consulate and when a hundred or so had been gathered they were driven past the consulate on the road toward Gumushhané and Erzingan in the heat and dust by gendarmes with fixed bayonets. They were held outside the city until a group of about 2000 were collected then sent on toward Gumushhané.

Three such groups making about 6000 were sent from here during the first three days and the smaller groups from Trebizond and the vicinity sent later amounted to about 4000 more. The weeping and wailing of the women and children was most heartrending. Some of these people were from wealthy and refined circles. Some were accustomed to luxury and ease. There were clergymen, merchants, bankers, lawyers, mechanics, tailors and men from every walk of life. The Governor General told me they were allowed to make arrangements for carriages but nobody seemed to be making any arrangements. I know of one of wealthy merchant, however, who paid Lt. 15 (\$66.00) for a carriage to take himself and wife to Djevizlik and when he arrived at the station where they were being collected at Deyermendéré, about 10 minutes from the city, they were commanded by the gendarmes to leave the carriage which was sent back to the city. The whole Mohammedan population knew these people were to be their prey from the beginning and they were treated as criminals. In the first place from the date of the proclamation June 25, no Armenian was allowed to sell anything and everybody was forbidden under penalty (see the text of the proclamation) to buy anything from them. How then were they to provide funds for the journey? For six or eight months there has been no business whatever in Trebizond and people have been eating up their capital. Why then should they have been prohibited from selling rugs or anything they had to sell to secure needed money for the journey? Many persons who had goods which they could have sold if they had been allowed to do so were obliged to start off on foot without funds and with what they could gather up from their homes and carry on their backs. Such persons naturally soon became so weak that they fell behind and were bayoneted and thrown into the river and their bodies floated down past Trebizond to the sea, or else lodged in the shallow river on rocks where they remained for 10 to 12 days and putrefied to the disgust of the travelers who were obliged to pass that way. I have talked with eyewitness who state there were many naked bodies to be seen on snags in the river 15 days after the affair occurred and that the smell was something terrible.

On the 17th of July while out horseback riding with the German Consul we came across three Turks digging a grave in the sand for a naked body which we saw in the river near by. The corpse looked as though it had been in the water for 10 days or more. The Turks said they had just buried four more bodies further up the river. Another Turk told us that a body had floated down the river and out into the sea a few moments before we arrived.

By July 6th (Tuesday) all the Armenian houses in Trebizond, about 1000, had been emptied of inhabitants and the people sent off. There was no inquiry as to who were guilty or who were innocent of any movement against the government. If a person was an Armenian that was sufficient reason for being treated as a criminal and deported. At first all were to go except the sick who were taken to the municipal hospital until they were well enough to go. Later an exception was made for old men and women, pregnant women, children, those in government employ and Catholic Armenians. Finally it was decided that the old men and women and the Catholics must go and they were sent along towards the last. A number of lighters have been loaded with people at different times and sent off towards Samsoun. It is generally believed that such persons were drowned. During the early days before the deportation commenced a large caique or lighter was loaded with men supposed to be members of the Armenian committee and sent off towards Samsoun. Two days later a certain Vartan, a Russian subject and one of those who left in the boat, returned overland to Trebizond badly wounded about the head and so crazy he could not make himself understand. All he could say was "boom, boom". He was arrested by the authorities and taken to the municipal hospital where he died the following day. A Turk said this boat was met not far from Trebizond by another boat containing gendarmes who proceeded to kill all the men and throw them overboard. They thought they had killed them all but this Vartan who was a big powerful man was only wounded and swam ashore unnoticed. A number of such caiques have left Trebizond loaded with men and usually the caiques return empty after a few hours.

Tots, a village about two hours from Trebizond is inhabited by Gregorian and Catholic Armenians, and Turks. Boghos Marimian a wealthy and influential Armenian together with his two sons, according to a reliable witness, were placed one behind the other and shot through. 45 men and women were taken a short distance from the village into a valley. The women were first outraged by the officers of the gendarmerie and then turned over to the gendarmes to dispose of. According to this witness a child was killed by beating its brains out on a rock. The men were all killed and not a single person survived from this group of 45. It is believed that Apik Missir, the dragoman of the French Consulate and the Agent of the Paquet S/S Co. at Trebizond together with his mother and relations who were spending the summer at Tots were included in the above group. Mr. Missir was married in Paris about two years ago and his wife and sister are now in Russia.

The plan to save the children by placing them in schools or orphanages in Trebizond under the care of a committee organized and supported by the Greek Archbishop of which the Vali was President and the Archbishop Vice President with three Mohammedan and three Christian members has been abandoned and the girls are now being given exclusively to Mohammedan families and thus scattered. The suppression of the orphanages and the scattering of the children was a great disappointment to this Consulate and to the Greek Archbishop who had worked hard for the plan and secured the support of the Vali, but Nail Bey the head of the Committee of Union and Progress who was opposed to the plan succeeded in thwarting it very quickly. Many of the boys appear to have been sent to Plantana to be distributed among the farmers. The best looking of the older girls who were retained as care takers in these orphanages are kept in houses for the pleasure of members of the gang which seems to rule affairs here. I hear on good authority that a member of the Committee of Union and Progress here has ten of the handsomest girls in a house in the central part of the city for the use of himself and friends. Some of the small girls have been taken into respectable Mohammedan houses. Several of the former pupils at the American Mission are now in Mohammedan homes near the Mission and have been visited by Mrs. Crawford but of course the majority of them are not so fortunate.

The 1000 Armenian houses are being emptied of furniture by the police one after the other. The furniture, bedding and everything of value is being stored in large buildings about the city. There is no attempt at classification and the idea of keeping the property in "bales under the protection of the government to be returned to the owners on their return" is simply ridiculous. The goods are piled in without any attempt at labeling or systematic storage. A crowd of Turkish women and children follow the police about like a lot of vultures and seize anything they can lay their hands on and when the more valuable things are carried out of a house by the police they rush in and take the balance. I see this performance every day with my own eyes. I suppose it will take several weeks to empty all the houses and then the Armenian shops and stores will be cleared out. The commission which has this matter in hand is now talking of selling this great collection of household goods and property in order to pay the debts of the Armenians. The German Consul told me that he did not believe the Armenians would be permitted to return to Trebizond even after the end of the war.

Large herds of cattle which have no doubt been collected in the

villages from the Armenians for the army have been driven through Trebizond by soldiers.

Armenians with Russian, Persian and Bulgarian passports have all been/sent away regardless of the representations made on their behalf. The Arabians who claimed British protection were also deported. John Arabian the dragoman of the British Consulate here was sent with what he could carry in his hands.

If the soldiers could not find food on the Erzeroum road, and many are reported to have died of starvation, how could from 6000 to 10000 Armenians who were looked upon by the Mohammedans as their legitimate prey expect to secure food?

I have just been talking with a young man who has been performing his military service on the "inshaat tabouri" (construction regiment) working on the roads out toward Gumushhané. He told me that fifteen days ago all the Armenians, about 180, were separated from the other workmen and marched off some distance from the camp and shot. He heard the report of the rifles and later was one of the number sent to bury the bodies which he stated were all naked having been stripped of clothing.

A number of bodies of women and children have lately been thrown up by the sea upon the sandy beach below the walls of the Italian Monastery here in Trebizond and were buried by Greek women in the sand where they were found.

From the window of the consulate I saw a corpse thrown up by the sea at a point nearby where the Turkish children bath. A rope was tied about it and it was towed out into the deep sea.

A Turkish gentleman holding a high position under the government in Trebizond expressed himself to the Vice Consul very frankly and with deep emotion concerning the terrible, inhuman treatment accorded the Armenians of Trebizond.

Further details might be added of atrocities committed upon the Armenians but it is difficult to verify all the stories circulated and I have confined myself to those I believe to be correct.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed): Oscar S. Heizer
American Consul

Copy.

No. 333.

AMERICAN CONSULATE

Aleppo, August 3, 1915.

"DEPORTATION OF ARMENIANS".

The Honorable

Henry Morgenthau,

American Ambassador,

Constantinople,

Sir:-

I have the honor to report as follows concerning the attitude of the Turkish Government towards the Armenians in this vicinity and the hinterland:

Ever since the destruction of certain government buildings in Van by the Armenians in April last, the Turkish Government has been taking the most drastic measures against the Armenians in all this part of the Empire. The idea of direct attack and massacre that was carried out in former times has been altered somewhat, in that the men and boys have been deported from their homes in great numbers and disappeared en route, and later on the women and children have been made to follow. For some time stories have been prevalent from travelers arriving from the interior of the killing of the males, of great numbers of bodies along the roadsides, and the floating in the Euphrates river; of the delivery to the kurds by the gendarmes accompanying the convoys of women and children of all the younger members of the parties, of unthinkable outrages committed by gendarmes and kurds, and even the killing of many of the victims. At first these stories were not given much credence, but as many of the refugees are now arriving in Aleppo, no doubt longer remains of the truth of the matter. August 2nd about 800 middle aged and old women, and children under the age of 10 years arrived afoot from Diarbekir, after 45 days en route, and in the most pitiable condition imaginable. They report the taking of all the young women and girls by the Kurds, the pillaging even of the last bit of money and other belongings, of starvation, of privation, and hardship of every description. Their deplorable condition bears out their statements in every detail.

I am informed that 4500 persons were sent from Sughurt to Ras-el-Ain, over 2000 from Mezireh to Diarbékir, and that all the cities of Bitlis, Mardin, Mossoul, Severek, Malatia, Besné, etc. have been

depopulated of Armenians, the men and boys and many of the women killed, and the balance scattered throughout the country. If this is true of which there is little doubt, even the latter must naturally die of fatigue, hunger and disease. The Governor of Deir-el-Zor, on the Euphrates river, and who is now in Aleppo, says there are 15,000 Armenian refugees in that city. Children are frequently sold to prevent starvation as the Government furnishes practically no subsistence. The following statistics show the number of families and persons arriving in Aleppo, places from whence deported, and number sent further on up to and including July 30.

<u>Where from</u>	<u>Families</u>	<u>Persons</u>	<u>Sent away</u>
Cheuk-Merzemen(Dortyol)	400	2109	734
Ojakli	115	537	137
Euzerli	116	593	173
Hasanbayli	187	1118	514
Harni	84	528	34
Karspazar	51	340	
Hadjin	592	3988	1025
Roumlou	51	388	296
Shar	150	1112	357
Sis	231	1317	
Bagché	13	68	
Dengala	126	804	
Drtadli	12	104	
Zeytoun	5	8	
Tarpouz	22	97	
Albustan	10	44	
Total	2165	13255	3270

2100 Persons more arrived since the above figures were compiled.

Now all Armenians have been ordered deported from the cities of Aintab, Mardin, Killis, Antioch, Alexandretta, Kessab, and all the smaller towns in Aleppo province, estimated at 60,000 persons. It is natural to suppose that they will suffer the fate of those that have gone before, and which are appalling to contemplate. The results are that as 90 percent of the commerce of the interior is in the hands of the Armenians, the country is facing ruin. The great bulk of business being done on credit, hundreds of prominent business men other than Armenians face bankruptcy. There will not be left in the places evacuated a single tanner, moulder, blacksmith, tailor, carpenter, clay worker, weaver, shoemaker, jeweler, pharmacist, doctor, lawyer, or

any of the other professional or tradesmen with very few exceptions, and the country will be left in a practically helpless state.

The important American religious and educational institutions are losing their professors, teachers, helpers, and students, and even the orphanages are to be emptied of the hundreds of children therein, and which ruins the fruits of 50 years of untiring effort in this field. The Government officials in a mocking way ask what the Americans are going to do with these establishments now that the Armenians are being done away with. Aleppo city is expected to be next to suffer.

The situation is becoming more critical daily as there is no telling wherethis thing will end. The Germans are being blamed on every hand, for if they have not directly ordered this wholesale slaughter (for it is nothing less than the extermination of the Armenian race) they at least condone it. Private German individuals openly approve the whole scheme and condemn the Armenians on every occasion.

American Missionaries at Diarbekir and Mardin have had their premises searched, and Dr. Smith and family at the former place were expelled from the country via Beirut. The Americans at Mardin solicit the presence of a Consular officer, saying the situation is dangerous for them. Mr. R. C. Hill, of Aintab, and wife, Miss Kate E. Ainslie, of Marash, and Rev. Maynard, of Diarbekir, all had their baggage searched while en route from the interior to the coast.

The Turkish military officials maintain a press-bureau and collect the news from all points concerning matters in Turkey, and have hinted to the writer that it would be well to keep his pen quiet. Consequently as we have several hundred Europeans under our protection in Ourfa and Aleppo, it is suggested this communication be treated accordingly.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed): J. B. Jackson.
Consul.

Copy forwarded to the Department of State.

840.1

R.G. 59, 867.4016/147

AMERICAN CONSULATE
Aleppo, Syria, August 10, 1915.

Subject: ARMENIAN TROUBLES IN OURFA.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose herewith a copy of my despatch No. 341, of even date, to the Embassy regarding Armenian troubles in Ourfa.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed) J.B. JACKSON
Consul.

COPY

Ourfa, Mesopotamia,
August, 6, 1915.

My dear Consul Jackson,

The situation in this city is very dangerous and daily getting worse. The feeling between the Moslems and Christians is very bitter and is at present almost at the breaking point, and we have no government here. Fourteen "volunteers" from Stamboul (lately come from Diarbekir) have terrorized the governor, the gendarmery commander, the martial law examining commission and all the other chief officers of the local government so that they dare not move to protect the Christian population or to oppose the will of these murderers who now have everything under their control. They are nightly seizing the best and most prominent Christian citizens and after a period in prison here sending them on to that death-trap Diarbekir.

For six weeks we have witnessed the most terrible cruelties inflicted upon the thousands of Christian exiles who have been daily passing through our city from the northern cities. All tell the same story and bear the same scars: their men were all killed on the first days march from their cities, after which the women and girls were constantly robbed of their money, bedding, clothing, and beaten, criminally abused and abducted along the way. Their guards forced them to pay

even for drinking from the springs along the way and were their worst abusers but also allowed the baser element in every village through which they passed to abduct the girls and women and abuse them. We not only were told these things but the same things occurred right here in our own city before our very eyes and openly on the streets. The poor weak women and children died by thousands along the road and in the khans where they were confined here. There must be not less than five hundred abducted girls now in the homes of the Moslems of this city and as many more have been sexually abused and turned out on the streets again. They have even abused these girls openly on the streets and before the eyes of the foreigners. These are the conditions in the city to which the wives and daughters of the belligerents are being sent.

Moreover the situation here is dangerous. The Ourfa Christians seeing and knowing very well what has happened to these other exiles are not in a mood to accept exile themselves, and if it is attempted they may resist. Resistance, even of a few, will certainly mean a massacre and then all the Christians, foreigners as well, are in danger. Fully one half of the internees are living in native houses in the city where they will be exposed in case the above happens. The situation is critical. The Moslems have even hinted at taking the wives and daughters of some of the internees. Not being officially recognized I cannot protect them. I earnestly beg of you to send Vice-Consul Edelman here immediately for the protection of the internees and to do anything possible together with the German Consul to persuade the military commander of this district to protect the Christian population here and prevent their exile.

Unless the Vice-Consul comes I cannot handle this work nor remain here much longer. No less an official than Mr. Edelman ought to come.

We are in great need of money for the internees. Please send by the Vice-Consul. The German missionaries are sending this same information about conditions to their consul.

Yours faithfully,
Signed: F. H. Leslie

No.341.

AMERICAN CONSULATE
Aleppo, Syria, August 10, 1915.

The Honorable
Henry Morgenthau,
American Ambassador,
Constantinople.

Sir:

I have the honor to transmit herewith a copy of a communication dated the 6th instant from Rev. F. H. Leslie, American Missionary, at Ourfa, and lately appointed American Consular Agent in that district. The contents of Mr. Leslie's letter are most significant in view of the presence there of 427 civilians of the belligerent countries, of which 140 are British, 157 French, 112 Russians, and 18 Montenegrins, and which numbers include 42 women and 60 children.

Yesterday I telegraphed the Embassy that the Commander of the 4th Army had ordered that all such women and children and those also that are en route to Ourfa (there are about 30 in Aleppo from Beirut) should be sent under escort to Alexandretta to embark. I also added that the conditions in Ourfa justified the greatest effort toward having all the belligerent men held there sent out of the country. It is my belief that there may be a very disastrous result to the Armenian question, as mentioned in Rev. Leslie's letter, and no time should be lost in having the belligerents removed before there is a conflagration in which they run great risk of being caught.

It is intended that Vice Consul Edelman shall go to Ourfa this week to carry funds to the interned, as there is no possible means except by private carrier.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed) J.B. JACKSON
Consul.

Enclosure:

Letter from Rev. F. H. Leslie.

840.1

R.G. 59, 867.4016/148

AMERICAN EMBASSY

Constantinople
August 30, 1915.

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:-

Referring to my unnumbered despatch of August 21, 1915, regarding the attitude of the Turkish Government towards the Armenians in Turkey, I have the honor to transmit to you herewith, for your information, duplicate copies of a despatch received from the American Consul at Aleppo, dated August 19, 1915.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed) H. MORGENTHAU

Enclosure: as stated.

346.

The Honorable
Henry Morgenthau,
American Ambassador,
Constantinople.

Sir:

I have the honor to supplement my despatches Nos. 333 and 341 of August 3 and 10, 1915, respectively, concerning the deportation of Armenians, with the following, viz:

The city of Aintab is being rapidly depopulated of Armenians, several thousands having already passed through Aleppo on their way to the South. Some of the caravans have been attacked and robbed and one man killed between Aintab and Killis, and all their belongings stolen by the Moslem villagers and tribesmen, in spite of the fact that the Armenians were accompanied by gendarms by order of the Government, but who did nothing to protect their charges.

The Armenian community of Aintab is the wealthiest of the kind in this part of the Empire, offering a splendid opportunity for pillage. Their household belongings were left behind to be taken by the first plunderer to arrive. Most of the merchants of the city being Arme-

nians, their stocks are likewise disappearing . It is a gigantic plundering scheme as well as a final blow to extinguish the race, this notwithstanding the existence of a Commission appointed by the Government to safeguard the interests of the Armenians.

Since August 1, the German Bagdad railway has brought nine trains each of fifteen carloads of these unfortunate people to Aleppo. Each car containing from 35 to 40 persons, it is estimated that in addition to many thousands that came afoot, about 4,000 Armenians have been brought in from Ras-el-Ain, Arab-Pounar and Akdje-Koyouli the latter being the station at which were loaded the people from Aintab, making about 20,000 that have so far arrived in Aleppo. These trains were mostly switched to the Damascus-Hama line, and run on South to disperse their contents among the Arabs and Druzes, while a small proportion were permitted to remain in Aleppo for the time being.

They all relate harrowing tales of hardships, abuse, robbery and atrocities committed enroute, and with the exception of those from Aintab there were few if any man, girls over ten years, or becoming young married women among them.

Travellers from the Interior have related to the writer that the beaten paths are lined with corpses of the victims, between Ourfa and Arab-Pounar, a distance of about twenty-five miles there being more than 500 along the highway.

On the 17th instant an order arrived from the Minister of the Interior to permit the Armenian Protestants to remain where they were, but on the 18 another order came that all Armenians without distinction should be deported. This is causing consternation in Aleppo, where there are hundreds of prominent families of Armenian Protestants and Armenian Catholics, for it is rumoured that as soon as the outside towns are cleaned they will begin with Aleppo.

From Mardin the Government deported great numbers of Syrians, Catholics, Chaldeans, and Protestants, and it is feared all Christians may later be included in the order and possibly even the Jews. They cry "Turkey for the Moslems", that was heard some time ago is again noised about and is most significant in view of passing events.

From the coast comes news of the resistance of about 10,000 of the Armenians in the towns in the region of Swedea, at the mouth of the Orontis river, such as Bitias, Hadji Hapli, Yourounoulouk, Hedre Bey, Kaboussa (Selucia) etc. who it is said have collected on Moussa mountains two hours from the coast, and who expect help from the French or british battleships usually in that neighborhood. This is the

most effective resistance so far offered by the Armenians for they had invariably given up their arms before the deportation was commenced.

Communications by telegraph is impossible with the above named places, and only meagre news leaks in from those localities.

Conservative persons well informed on the question place the total loss of life up to August 15 at over 500,000. The territory effected includes the province of Van, Erzeroum, Bitlis, Diarbekir, Mamouret-Ul-Asiz, Angora and Sivas from which the Armenians have already been practically exterminated, leaving Aleppo and Adana to be completed, and from which the movement is in rapid progress.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
J.B. Jackson
Consul

867.4016/225

No. 278

AMERICAN CONSULATE,
Aleppo, Syria, October 16, 1915.

SUBJECT: Armenian Exodus from Harput.

THE HONORABLE
THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
WASHINGTON.

SIR:

I have the honor to enclose herewith a report on the Armenian Exodus from Harput, coming from a very reliable source.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed) J.B. JACKSON
Consul.

Enclosure as above
Copy sent to Embassy at Constantinople.
840.1

COPY

Armenian Exodus from Harpoot

On the first of June 3000 people, mostly women, girls, & children,

left Harpoot, accompanied by 70 police-men & a certain Turk of influence, named Faike Bey. The next day they arrived at Hankeuy, safely. Here Faike Bey took 400 livres from the people, in order to keep it safely, till they arrive at Malattia and promised to accompany them, for their protection up to Ourfa, but that same day he ran away with all the money.

The 3d day the caravan of exiles reached Tootly-keuy. There the Arabs and Kurds began to steal the women and girls, till they reached the first railway station of Rasulain, on the Bagdad Line. The policemen, given to them for their protection, incited the half savage tribes of mountains, to attack them, for robbing, killing, violating their women and stealing them & they themselves so many times violated the women openly.

The 4th day they arrived at Keumirkhan, where the policemen killed three of the prominent men. The 9th day they came to Izoli, where the horses, hired and entirely paid for the journey up to Malatia, were taken and sent back. So they had again to hire ox-carts to carry them to Malatia. Here many were left without any beast of burden, only a few being able to buy donkeys & mules, which also in turn were stolen.

At Izoli Hadji, a policeman, stole Mrs. Araxie Geulgikian & her two daughters & ran away.

The 13th day the caravan was at Malatia, but for one hour, for they returned to the village of Chutlug, two hours from Malatia. Here the policemen deserted them altogether, after tolling from them about 200 liras, for the protection they had given them, that far. And the people were left to the mercy of the beastly Bey (claw chief) of the Kurds of Aghja-Daghi .

On the 15th day they were again trodding their way through steep mountains, where the Kurds gathered 150 of the men, aged from 15-90 & taking them to some distance, butchered them & came back & began to rob the people.

That day another caravan of exiles, only 300 of which were men, from Sivas, Egin, Tokat joined that from Harpoot, thus making a bigger caravan, 18,000, all counted. They started on the 17th day, under the protection of another Kurd Bey. This Bey called out his people, who attacked the caravan and robbed them. They stole five of the prettiest girls and a few sisters of grace from Sivas. At night some other girls also were stolen, but they were returned, after being violated. So again the journey was started, on the way the pretty girls

being stolen, one by one, & those remaining behind being always killed. The 25th day they reached the village of Geulik, all the inhabitants of which went a long way with the caravan, tormenting and robbing them. The 32nd day they were at the village of Kekhteh. Here they remained two days, & again many girls and women were stolen.

On the 40th day the caravan saw the river Mourad, a branch of the Euphrates. Here were seen the bodies of more than 200 men, floating in the river, & traces of blood and blood stained fezes (hat), clothings and stockings on the banks.

The chief of the village, near by, tolled one lira from each man, as a ransom for not being thrown into the river.

On the 52d day they arrived at another village, here the Kurds took from them every thing they had, even their shirts and drawers and for five days the whole caravan walked all naked under the scorching sun. For another five days they did not have a morsel of bread, neither a drop of water. They were scorched to death by thirst. Hundreds over hundreds fell dead on the way, their tongues were turned to charcoal and when at the end, of the fifth day they reached a fountain, the whole caravan, naturally, rushed on it, but the policemen stood in front of them and forbade them to take even a drop of water, for they wanted to sell the water, from one to three liras the cup, and sometimes even not giving the water, after getting the money. At another place, where there were wells, some women threw themselves into it, as there was no rope and pail to draw water but these were drowned and in spite of that the rest of the people drank from that well, the dead bodies still staying and stinking in it. Sometimes, in other shallow wells, when the women could enter and come out, the other people would rush and lick and such the wet dirty clothes, to quench their thirst.

When they came near an Arab village, in that naked state, the Arabs pitied them and gave them old pieces of clothes, to be covered with. Some of the exiles who had money left, bought some clothes. But there were still some left, who came in that naked state up to the city of Haleb. The poor women could not walk for shame, they walked all bent forward.

In this naked state they had found some ways to keep the little money they had. Some kept it in their hair, some in their mouths and some in their wombs. And when the robbers attacked them, some were clever enough to search for money in those secret places and that in a very beastly manner, of course.

On the 60th day when we reached Viran Shehir, only 300 had remained from the 18,000 exiles. On the 64th day they gathered all the men and the sick women, and children and burnt and killed them all. The remaining were ordered to continue their way. In one day they arrived at Rasoulain, where for two days, for the first time, the Government gave them bread, which could not be eaten, but for the other three days they did not have even that.

Here a Circassian persuaded the wife of the pastor of Sivas and some other women, with their children to go with him to the station to send them to Halep by train. Against all the dissuasion of their friends, these women followed the man, as they and their children were unable any more to walk the rest of the journey. The man took them to the opposite direction of the station, explaining that he would borrow money from his friend, nearby, for the tickets, but after a short time the man returned to them and the women and their children were no more.

The chief of the place demanded three liras for himself & one lira for the railway ticket from each of them, in order to let them go by train.

On the 70th day, when they reached Halep, 35 women & children were remaining from the 3000 exiles of Harpoot, 150 women & children from the whole caravan of 18,000

867.4016/226

AMERICAN EMBASSY

Constantinople

No. 612

November 9, 1915.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose herewith a translation of a statement made by Miss Alma Johanson regarding atrocities committed against Armenians in Eastern Anatolia. She is a Swedish lady but has been connected for thirteen years with the German Mission at Moush. Her statement was made in German, the enclosed copy is an English translation of it.

I also herewith enclose a letter from Dr. Post of Konia, together with a translation of a letter (no.7) received from the Armenian Committee of Dashnaksoutiun.

I shall continue to send you these statements without any comment, as they speak for themselves.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed) H. MORGENTHAU

Enclosures:

- 1/ Statement of Miss Johanson;
- 2/ Dr. Dodd's letter, Oct.27,1915;
- 3/ Report of Dashnaksoutiun, No.7,
Oct.28,19154.
(In duplicate)

Enclosure No. 1

Reports of an eye witness

Miss Alma Johanson (German Missionary)

Towards the end of October when the Turkish war began, the Turkish Officials started to take everything they needed for the war, from the Armenians. Their goods, their money, all was confiscated. Later on every Turk was free to go to an Armenian shop and take out what he needed or thought he would like to have. Only a tenth perhaps was really for the war, the other was robbery. It was necessary to carry food, etc. to the front, at the borders of the Caucasus. In order to carry the necessary burdens, the Government sent out about 300 old Armenian men, many cripples amongst them, and boys not over twelve years old, to carry the goods, which was a three week's journey from Musch to the Russian borders. As every individual Armenian was robbed of everything he ever had, these poor people soon died of hunger and cold on the way. They had on no clothes at all, even these were stolen on the way. If of the 300 Armenian 30-50 returned it was a marvel, the rest were either beaten to death or died for reasons stated above. The winter was most severe in Musch, the gendarmes were sent to raise high taxes and as the Armenians had already given every thing to the Turks, and therefore powerless to pay these enormous taxes, they were beaten to death. The Armenians never defended themselves except when they saw the gendarmes ill-treat their wives and children, and so the result was that the whole village was burnt down merely because a few Armenians tried to protect their families. Toward the middle of April we heard rumors that in Van there were great disturbances. We have heard statements made both from Turks

and Armenians, and as these reports agree in every respect it is quite plain there is some truth in them; namely, that the Government of Turkey sent orders that all Armenians were to give up their arms which the Armenians refused to do stating that they require same in case of necessity. This caused a regular massacre. All villages inhabited by Armenians were burnt down. The Turks boasted of having now got rid of all the Armenians. I heard it from the officers myself, their revelling in the knowledge that the Armenians were done away with. Thus the winter passed, things more terrible than one can possibly relate happening every day. We then heard that massacres had started in Bitlis. In Musch everything was being prepared for one, when the Russian arrived at Lice which is about 14-16 hours of Musch, this occupied the attention of the Turks so that the massacre was put off for the time being. Hardly had the Russians left Lice, however, when the whole districts where Armenians dwelt were pillaged and destroyed. This was in the month of May. At the beginning of June, we heard that the whole Armenian population of Bitlis was done away with. It was at this time that we received news that the American Missionary Dr. Knapp was wounded in an Armenian house and that the Turkish Government sent him to Diarbekir. The very first night in Diarbekir he died and the Government explained his death as a result of having overfed himself, which of course nobody believes. When there was no one left in Bitlis to massacre their attention was turned to Musch. Up to now cruelties were committed but not too publicly, now they started to shoot people down without any cause, they beat them to death, because they found delight in doing so. In Musch itself, which is a big town, there are alone 25,000 Armenians; around Musch there are 300 villages, every village containing about 500 houses and not one male Armenian and but a few women here and there are visible now. Beginning of July; in the first week of this month 20,000 soldiers came from Constantinople over Harpout to Musch with munition and eleven guns, and besieged Musch. In fact the town was surrounded already since middle of June. At this time the Mutessarif gave orders that we two German missionaries should leave the town and go to Harpout. We pleaded with him to let us stay for we had in our charge all the orphans and patients, but he was angry and threatened to force us away if we did not do as instructed. As we both became sick we were allowed to remain at Musch. I received permission in case we should leave Musch to take the Armenians of our orphanage along but on asking for assurances of safety his only reply was: "You can take them along but being Armenians their heads may and will be cut off on the

way." On the 10th of July Musch was bombarded for several hours, they pretended the reason was because some Armenians had tried to escape. I went to see the Mutessarif asking him to protect our houses and his reply was "Serves you right for staying instead of leaving as instructed. The guns are here to put an end to Musch. Take refuge with the Turks." This of course was not possible as we could not leave our charges. A new order was the next day promulgated that the Armenians would be expelled and three days were given them to be ready. They were told to register themselves at the government's office before they left. The families could remain but their property and their money was to be confiscated. The Armenians were unable to go as they had no money to pay the trip and they preferred to die in their houses rather than be separated and endure a lingering death on the road. As mentioned before three days were given the Armenians to leave but two hours had scarcely elapsed when the soldiers broke into the houses and arrested every one and threw them into prison. The cannons began to fire and thus preventing the people from registering themselves at the government office. We all had to take refuge in the cellar for fear of our orphanage catching fire. It was a heartrending spectacle to hear the cries of the people and children who were being burnt to death in their houses. The soldiers found great delight in hearing these cries and when people who were on the street during the bombardment fell dead the soldiers merely laughed at them. The survivors were sent to Ourfa. (nothing but sick women and children) I went to the Mutessarif and begged him to have mercy on the children at least, but in vain, he replied the Armenian children must perish with their nation. All our people were taken from our hospital and orphanage, they left us three female servants. Thus Musch was burnt down in this monstrous way. Every officer boasted of the number he had personally massacred thus ridding Turkey of the Armenian race. We left for Harpout; Harpout has become the cemetery of the Armenians, from all directions they have been brought to Harpout to be buried. There they lie and the dogs and the vultures lick their bodies. Now and then some man throws some earth over the bodies. In Harpout and Mezre the people have had to endure terrible tortures, such as their eye-brows being pulled off, their breasts are cut off, their nails pulled out, their feet are cut off or they hammer nails into them just as they do with horses. This is all done during the night and in order that the people may not hear their screams and know of their agony, soldiers stand around the prisons drumming and blowing whistles. Needless to repeat that many died of these tortures. The soldier then cry "Now let your Christ help you."

One old priest was tortured so much into confession that he believing that this pain would cease and he would be left alone cried out in his desperation: "We are revolutionary people." He expected his torture would end now but on the contrary the soldiers said: "What else do we seek for? We have it here from his own lips." And instead of choosing their victims as they did up to the present the officials had all the Armenians, sparing no one, tortured. Beginning of July, 2000 Armenian soldiers were ordered to leave for Aleppo to build roads. The people of Harpout were terrified on hearing this and a panic started in the town. The Vali called the German Missionary, Mr. Eheman, and begged him to quiet the people repeating over and over again that no harm whatsoever would befall these soldiers. Mr. Eheman believed the Vali and quieted the people. But they had scarcely left when we heard that they had all been murdered and thrown in a cave. Just a few managed to escape and we got the reports from them. It was useless to protest to the Vali, the American Consul at Harpout protested several times but the Vali treats him like "air" and in a most shameful manner. A few days later another 2000 Armenian soldiers were despatched via Diarbekir and in order to hinder them from escaping they were left to starve on the way so that they had no power left in them to flee. The Kurds were given notice that the Armenians are on the way and the wives of the Kurds came with their butcher's knives to help the men. In Mezré a public house was erected for the Turks — and all the beautiful Armenian girls and women were put in. At night the Turks were allowed free entrance. The permission for the Protestant and Catholic Armenians to be exempted from deportation arrived only after their deportation. The Government wanted to force the few remaining Armenian to accept the Mohamedan faith. A few did so in order to save their wives and children from the great suffering already witnessed. The people begged us to leave for Constantinople and bring some security for them. On our way to Constantinople we only encountered some old women. No young girls or women were to be seen.

We knew it in November already that there would be a massacre, the Muttesarif of Musch, who was a most intimate friend of Enver Pasha, declared quite openly that they would massacre the Armenians at an opportune moment and exterminate the whole race; before the Russians arrived they intended to first butcher the Armenians and then fight the Russians.

Toward the beginning of April in the presence of a Major Lange and several other high officials, such as American and German Consuls,

Ekran Bey said it quite openly, namely their intention to exterminate the Armenian race. All these details plainly show that the massacre was planned.

It is very unsafe now for all Missionaries in the Interior, the officials show their hatred too plainly, and have often told us that they do not see the necessity of our presence.

In a few villages destitute women come begging, naked and sick for alms and protection, we are not allowed to give them anything, we are not allowed to take them in, in fact we are forbidden to do anything for them and they die outside. If permission could be obtained from the authorities to help them? If we cannot endure the sight of these poor people what must it be to them who suffer it themselves.

It is a story written in blood. Two old missionaries and a younger lady (Americans) were sent away from Mardin, treated just like prisoners always in the company of gendarmes, and brought to Sivas. I find such a trip in the present circumstances for the old missionaries a terrible hardship.

Enclosure No. 2

October 27, 1915.

Since last writing to you the situation has changed considerably, although the general need and suffering remain. The whole encampment near the railroad has been cleared out and sent on with the exception of some tents belonging to families with contagious cases such as diphtheria, scarlet etc. which are being attended to by the belediye physician. There remain however a very large number of people in the city, some say as many as 20,000, who are still permitted to stay here probably through bribes to the police, friends in the Government, etc. Although the above number may be an exaggeration one sees crowds of Armenians everywhere in town and we have the same crowd of about 500 every day to feed and more patients coming to the clinic than we have time to see.

Soon after the great deportation that preceded the arrival of the new Vali, Miss Cushman and I drove out to Kachin Han, the first station of the R.R. towards Eregli, just to follow up the crowd, as a large number had been driven off on foot with the expectation of taking the railroad later on. Kachin Han is about three hours from here by carriage and even so near to Konia as this we found about 100 people, sitting and lying about the Station in utter destitution. They had been there three

days; most of them had eaten up all the provisions they had and looked haggard and emaciated, veritable famine victims such as one sees in pictures of an occurring in India. On leaving Konia they had been promised food along the way, and the gendarmes there left saying "geledjek" but the fact that they had had no provision whatsoever made for them. The train from Konia came along while we were there and most of the people dragged themselves to the cars and endeavoured to get on but were pushed back by the gendarmes, partly because they had no tickets and partly because there was no room; so the poor people turned back bitterly and hopelessly to where they had been sitting or lying about the Station. There is a village an hour or two away from the Station and a Turkish baker had driven to the Station for sale but as there was no money to buy the grown people looked at it from the distance, while the little gaunt children drew near to stare at it wistfully. I brought enough to give each person there a loaf and many declared that it was the first food they had had for three days. Some of the people there were intelligent and educated — their sufferings were even greater than those of the villagers who were more accustomed to hardship. There were two women there desperately sick with puny babies tugging away at the breast and getting nothing, their pathetic cries mingled with the groans of the mothers in physical and mental anguish. Among the hundred people there were not half dozen tents and those improvised and of the flimsiest description. All the rest of the people were lying out in the open, day and night, many without even a blanket or quilt. A half mile from the Station I found two old women who were crawling about on hands and knees, too weak to walk; they had been carried off on a wagon ostensibly to go to a village but once out of sight of the gendarmes the driver had dropped them in the field and hurried away. All without exception looked forward to certain death, by starvation nor could we see any other future for them. A few miles further on we found a little heap of clods that had been apparently piled together and then scattered, and near it a bundle of rags full of a child's bones — the skull, with scalp still clinging to it was lying a yard or two away — evidently there had been a hasty burial and the dogs had come and torn the grave to pieces and devoured the body. That same day we found another dead body by the roadside — an old woman wrapped in a torn quilt; also a woman about 40 years old sitting alone by the road, miles away from city or village, with feet bare and swollen, almost pulseless, and evidently crazed from terror and exposure, muttering something about T's who were coming to cut her throat, about her people who had left her behind, and so forth. A little farther on, lying beside an empty wayside stable,

we found an old woman, half naked, pulseless, muttering in low delirium and with only a few hours to live. We lifted her into the old stable, covered her with an old quilt that we found near her and drove back to the city, weighed down with the thought of the awful suffering that is going on all over the country, especially to the south-east of us, of which we see such terrible examples at our very doors.

Our new executive is affable and pleasant enough but is hand and glove with the clique here and impresses me as insincere. After pushing the deportation vigorously for a few days, things have quieted down again and the Armenians in town are having their hopes revived although we see nothing to ground them upon. The hunger and want in the city are increasing; today we fed over 600. It is blessed work, even if it seems to have no future for the recipients. A lot of the exiles are well qualified to earn a living but the police will not allow them to work.

Next time you write I should be interested to know if the case of Var-tuhi, whose sisters from Gumuldjina were abducted, was taken up by the Bulgarian Ministry.

A side light on the rate of the extermination of the Armenians is thrown by a glance at mortality statistics in our hospital which I have been studying lately. In ordinary years the average mortality from all causes is about 4%. This year, among 500 to 600 soldiers we have taken in, it has been about 6%, the increase being doubtless due to the lowered vitality of the soldiers in general. The mortality among Armenians — exiles — who have been admitted to our wards has been over 30% and this in spite of the fact that we have taken in only the ordinary run of maladies and that there has been no epidemic! The nation is being systematically done to death by a cruel and crafty method, and their extermination is only a question of time.

Pray for us as we do for you, and as I am confident we all do that the the days may be shortened.

With best wishes,
Faithfully yours,
Wilfred M. Post.

R.G. 59. 867.4016/373

AMERICAN CONSULATE
Aleppo, Syria, now in
Washington, March 4, 1918.

SUBJECT: Report entitled "Armenian Atrocities".

THE HONORABLE
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON.

SIR:

I have the honor to enclose herewith a report in duplicate, of even date herewith, subject, "Armenian Atrocities", prepared and submitted at the request of Mr. Carr.

The writer has no personal reason why the contents thereof should not be given publicity; however, in view of the fact that the remaining unfortunate Armenians and other Christian races at present living more or less undisturbed under Turkish rule would doubtless be made the victims of further brutalities should the attention of the Turks and Germans be directed thereto, it would seem best that any publicity from authoritative sources be first given most serious consideration.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed) J.B. JACKSON
Consul.

SUBJECT: ARMENIAN ATROCITIES.

From (Signed) J.B. JACKSON,
Consul,
formerly at Aleppo, Syria,
now in Washington, March 4, 1918.

It was in February, 1915, that the Turkish Government decided to disarm the Armenians in Zeitoun, a town situated about five days travel North of Aleppo, an action that was rightly judged to be the forerunner of further and more disastrous events in which the Armenian race was to be the main sufferer. With great reluctance they were induced to submit to disarmament, knowing full well that such precautions on the part of the Turks were sure to be followed by something detrimental to the welfare of the population of that vicinity,

composed almost entirely of Armenians. This was followed by similar action in Aintab, Alexandretta, Marash, Ourfa, Biridjik and many smaller towns and villages.

As a massacre as in the old days, with the Turks attacking the Armenians outright in their homes was greatly feared, while the excitement was at fever heat the German missionaries at Marash prevailed on Mr. Walter Rössler, the German Consul at Aleppo, to go there, where he remained several days in pourparlers with the authorities. What was the attitude taken by Consul Rössler on this occasion was not made known, though he pretended to use his influence to prevent bloodshed. However, it is a fact that immediately thereafter the attempts at deportation began that were finally partly successful in that region, and which were more than successful practically throughout the Empire. This occurred soon after the deportation from that part of Northern France occupied by the Germans of the 60,000 or more French civilians, mostly old men, women and children. The hardships suffered by these unfortunate people as they were sent back to France through Switzerland are a matter of history, and it has been surmised by many, the writer included, that this example of the Germans was either suggested to the Turks by the originators of the scheme, or copied by the Turkish Government and intended to be the means whereby the Armenians should be done away with, once and for all, an action that was connived at by the Germans.

Some months after his return to Aleppo, and after newspapers in America and Europe published articles wherein American missionaries and others blamed Consul Rössler for having encouraged the Turks in this nefarious business, he came to the American Consulate in Aleppo and requested me to make him a written statement to the effect that he had done all in his power while in Marash to prevent the Turkish authorities from oppressing the Armenians. When I refused, and told him plainly that I thought that if the Germans were not directly they were at least indirectly responsible for the actions of their allies the Turks in this case, he was very angry, and showed me a communication from the German Embassy in Constantinople ordering him to obtain a statement from me exonerating him from all blame as above mentioned, his instructions also saying that the American Embassy in Constantinople had agreed that I make such a statement. I continued to refuse, and he left in a very bad humor. I immediately telegraphed the circumstances to our Embassy, and was informed that the German Embassy had in reality made such a request of the American Ambassador, but that Ambassador Morgenthau had refused to agree to it.

The Embassy had previously mailed me instructions on the subject, but they had not yet arrived.

From February, 1915 on there were numerous efforts on the part of the higher Turkish authorities at Constantinople to have the Christian population deported from all of the above named towns including Aleppo, but as Djélal Bey, the Governor-General of Aleppo was and had been for many years very friendly towards the Armenians, and because of the tremendous influence brought to bear on him locally, he at first ignored the instructions he received, and which were repeated several times, and finally flatly refused to be an instrument in such an atrocious proceeding. Naturally this could have but one result, and that was his removal as Governor-General of Aleppo, and the naming in his place in July, 1915, of Bakir Samy Bey, up to that time Governor-General of Beirut, Syria.

The new Governor turned out as passive in reference to the deportation of the Armenians as his predecessor had been, and for that and other reasons he was recalled about two months later, and Mustafa Abdulhalak Bey, a relative and protégé of Talat Pasha, then Minister of the Interior, was appointed in his place.

All during this time there had been orders received from Constantinople at frequent intervals to deport the Armenians from all of the first mentioned towns including the city of Aleppo, and not only the Armenian Orthodox, but also the Armenian Catholics and Armenian Protestants. Every few days such orders arrived at Aleppo, and by means of long acquaintance with the various government officials, many of whom were Christians, the Consulate was always secretly notified at once so that a move could be made to offset the same. The Embassy was also promptly advised in each instance, and I was informed that pressure was brought to bear on the central authorities at Constantinople to have counter orders forwarded. These counter orders would be in effect but a short time when the previous orders would be repeated to the provincial authorities, and the same operation would be performed by the Consulate and the Embassy.

By this concerted action first the Armenian Catholics and then the Armenian Protestants were eliminated from the orders, leaving only the Armenian Orthodox affected thereby. Finally, in August, 1915, the Turks no longer listened to our appeals, and began to deport from the towns other than Aleppo the Armenian Orthodox, and while so doing they extended their operations to include even the Protestants and Catholics, but as we kept up a running fight with them all the time, they finally abandoned the deportations after they had literally

cleaned all the towns and villages except Aintab and Marash of the Armenians, and had taken the greater part of them from those places. The Armenians in Aleppo were not interfered with, but six or seven families being sent away.

It is estimated that there were originally 24,000 Armenians in Aintab, 35,000 in Marash, 14,000 in Ourfa, 2,000 in Alexandretta, and 1,200 in Beridjik. Of these about 12,000 remained in Aintab, and 14,000 in Marash, the balance being driven off to the Mesopotamian desert with the exception of about 5,000 who, through bribery of the accompanying gendarms were enabled to escape and found their way to Aleppo.

There were about 22,000 Armenians originally living in the city of Aleppo, and they were in terror lest they be included in the deportation. Not only were the Armenians in such danger, but it was feared, and with just cause, too, that if the Armenians of Aleppo should be sent away the balance of the Christian population of the city, about 20,000 in number, would suffer a like fate. As a consequence the most influential of all of the Christians of Aleppo were constantly beseeching me to use every effort to prevent the deportation of anyone from Aleppo. One can readily see that my position was a very delicate one, for it was not within my competency to officially render such service to them as they desired, or as the occasion demanded, and every move had to be made with the utmost care and adroitness in order to not call down upon me and especially my employees, most of whom were Ottoman subjects, the displeasure of the Turkish authorities; and it was only because I had lived in the province for more than ten years and had either a close or at least a speaking acquaintance with them that it was possible to do this. The close personal friendship that had existed between the previous Governor-General and myself, and the most intimate and friendly relations between his wife and daughters and Mrs. Jackson, lent much to this success. During several years that Djélal Bey had been Governor of Aleppo our weekly exchange of dinners, receptions and card parties had cemented our friendship until it had become almost brotherly, and was recognized throughout the province and even in all Syria.

It was not so easy, however, to prevent the ultimate object of the Turks, and it in fact became almost impossible to retain any of the unfortunate people in their homes, as was afterwards proven when the authorities took on a very arrogant demeanor and proceeded to gather them up in outside towns and send them off in groups of several hundred or several thousand each. During this short period messages

were continually sent to the Embassy, and before the towns were all entirely depleted of the Armenian population it appears that orders were received to discontinue the deportation.

In the meantime news began to leak in of the terrible atrocities that had been occurring in connection with the deportation of the Christians from Sivas, Erzingjian, Harput, Trebizond, Samsoun, Erzroum, Moush, Bitlis, Diarbekir, Mardin, Malatia, Cesarea, Talas, Konia, Angora, Broussa, Adana, Mersina, Hadjin, and hundreds of other towns and villages of less population and importance situated in the interior and the Northern part of Turkey. Small numbers of parties of parties sent away from those places arrived from time to time to relate the harrowing details of the separation of the grown male members of their families therefrom, or the actual killing of them before the eyes of their relative and friends, or of the robbing of the emigrants en route, of the unlimited suffering and death of famished women and children, the unbelievable brutality of the accompanying gendarms towards young girls and more attractive women, the carrying off by the Kurds and Turks of beautiful girls, women and children, and countless other atrocious crimes committed against them all along the way.

It seemed to be the object of the Turks to inflict the most terrible suffering upon the women and children, as well as upon the men. In addition to preventing them relieving their hunger and quenching their thirst at every opportunity, the gendarm escort resorted to the most excruciating methods to torture their victims. One striking example may be stated to illustrate this fact.

Late in July, 1915, when the thermometer registered from 105 to 115 degrees, as a group of more than 1,000 women and children from Harput was being conducted southward near Veren Chiher, East of Diarbekir, they were turned over to a band of savage Kurds who rode among them, selecting the best looking women, girls and children. Terrified by the fears of their fate should they fall into the hands of such ferocious brutes, the women resisted as best they could, thereby enraging the Kurds, who killed a number of their intended victims. Before carrying off those finally selected and subdued, they stripped most of the remaining women of their clothes, thereby forcing them to continue the rest of their journey in a nude condition. I was told by eyewitnesses to this outrage that over 300 women arrived at Ras-el-Ain, at that time the most easterly station to which the German-Bagdad railway was completed, entirely naked, their hair flowing in the air like wild beasts, and after travelling six days afoot in the burn-

ing sun. Most of these persons arrived in Aleppo a few days afterwards, and some of them personally came to the Consulate and exhibited their bodies to me, burned to the color of a green olive, the skin peeling off in great blotches, and many of them carrying gashes on the head and wounds on the body as a result of the terrible beatings inflicted by the Kurds.

One of the most terrible sights ever seen in Aleppo was the arrival early in August, 1915, of some 5,000 terribly emaciated, dirty, ragged and sick women and children, 3,000 on one day and 2,000 the following day. These people were the only survivors of the thrifty and well to do Armenian population of the province of Sivas, carefully estimated to have originally been over 300,000 souls! And what had become of the balance? From the most intelligent of those that miraculously reached Aleppo it was learned that in early Spring the men and the boys over 14 years old had been called to the police stations in that province on different mornings stretching over a period of several weeks, and had been sent off in groups of from 1,000 to 2,000 each, tied together with ropes, and that nothing had ever been heard of them thereafter. Their fate has been recorded by more than one eyewitness, so it is needless to dwell thereon here.

These survivors related the most harrowing experiences that they endured en route, starting from their homes as they did before Easter, travelling perhaps a thousand miles, and reaching Aleppo in August, about four months afterwards, afoot, without food, and even denied drink by the brutal gendarms when they came to wells or streams by the wayside; hundreds of the prettiest women and girls had been stolen by the Turkish tribes who came among them every day and carried them off to Mohammedan harems; they had been previously despoiled of their money, jewelry, and even the greater part of their clothing, so that they arrived almost naked and in abject need.

Their entry into Aleppo was the cause of the beginning of the terrible epidemic of Typhus fever that broke out in the Autumn of that year, and spread with alarming rapidity to all classes of the native population, rich and poor, and carried off many thousands among which were hundreds of the very best people of the city. This scourge was not only prevalent within the city, but soon swept the entire country, devastating whole towns and villages throughout the interior, and also causing great ravages in the army. The number that succumbed in the city was so great that the sanitary authorities could not cope with the situation, and the military authorities provided huge ox-carts into which the dead bodies were thrown, 10 or 12 in each cart, and

the procession of 7 or 8 carts would proceed to the nearby cemetery with their gruesome loads of ghastly uncovered corpses, usually nude, with the heads, legs and arms dangling from the sides and ends of the open carts. At the cemetery they backed up to the trenches that had been prepared beforehand, dumped in the bodies without covering or ceremony, and threw in the earth upon their victims. This was a daily scene for months as the processions daily passed the Consulate. Many of our closest personal friends, and three of the consular employees died of Typhus, and because of daily contact with hundreds of people many of whom were actually suffering with the disease, it is almost a miracle that the writer never contracted it.

The arriving deportees were collected principally in Karlukh, a small village just North of the city, or in an encampment established along the railway tracks on the southwest side of the city. The writer made a point of visiting each place once or twice a week, and invariably distributed funds or bread to those in need. In the latter named place the authorities had provided tents for a part of the people, but as the number usually exceeded 2,000 or 3,000, and the tents would not cover more than 500, the great majority were obliged to remain in the burning sun, and later in the season were exposed to the rains and snows; at Karlukh there was practically no shelter whatever, so that in their weakened condition the victims were added to each day, hundreds dying from disease and exposure.

From these camps the gendarms took several hundred almost daily and pushed them on towards the desert beyond the reach of help, going from Aleppo first to Meskéne, then to Hamam, Rakka, Sebha, Abou-Harari, and finally to Deir-el-Zor and the surrounding villages, about half way between Aleppo and Bagdad on the Euphrates river. At Meskéne they died in such numbers that one of my employees who was sent there to distribute relief to the sufferers late in 1916 said that he had seen more than 150 long mounds where the dead had been buried in trenches (dug by the victims themselves,) wherein from 100 to 300 bodies had been buried. He also stated that similar evidence existed in the other above named towns and that at Rakka, an ancient city that had formerly been the scene of extensive excavations by archiologists in search of antique earthenware and glassware, the old walls of the uncovered buildings contained the bones of many thousands of the dead who had crawled therein, one upon the other, to die of starvation and disease. He also told of having seen many hundreds of skeletons lying strewn along the highways between Aleppo and Deir-el-Zor and Aleppo and Ourfa at which no effort whatever had been made to bury.

The massacres, strictly speaking, that occurred in the vicinity of Aleppo during these troublous times, were committed at Ourfa, a city of originally about 8,000 people, situated four and a half days journey by carriage Northeast of Aleppo, at Deir-el-Zor, 7 days journey from Aleppo down the Euphrates river, and at Ras-el-Ain. The following facts were related to me by European eyewitnesses:

In August, 1915, the Turks decided that the Armenians of Ourfa, numbering over 14,000, should leave that city and go off into the desert. The Armenians, having learned of the fate of all of their people that had been deported from various other places, refused to leave and barricaded themselves in the Armenian quarter, which was separate and apart from the balance of the city. They had a goodly supply of arms and ammunition, and as the rest of the population of Ourfa consisted mostly of Kurds, probably the most cruel and blood-thirsty race in Turkey, the authorities urged them to attack the Armenians. This they did willingly in the expectancy of rich loot, and after losing about 800 men in the first attack, and 1,200 more in a second attempt to drive out the Armenians, they gave it up and the military authorities sent to Aleppo for artillery with which to bombard the quarter. This was commanded by Graf (or Count) von Wolfsgeule, a German whom I know personally, and who was attached to the Turkish Army and under whose directions the Armenians were literally blown from their homes. The American mission was located within the bombarded area and suffered considerable damage. Rev. Francis H. Leslie, American, in charge of the mission, who had been previously made prisoner by the Armenians and held as a hostage in order to influence the Turks against bombarding the former, was so overcome by the terrible strain under which he had been living for many months and the frightful scenes he had witnessed during that time, that he lost his reason and committed suicide a few days afterwards. His widow and child accompanied us out of Turkey in July last.

After the Armenians had capitulated under the condition that they were to be permitted to leave the city, the authorities in true Turkish fashion hung 42 of the leaders publicly, and forced over 300 more of the men to run a gauntlet of Turkish soldiers with fixed bayonets to the edge of a cliff 600 feet high from the top of which they were pitched on bayonet points to their death below. A few that survived this heinous treatment and were still living after they landed in the ravine below, had their heads crushed by huge stones. Among this number were some young women that had dressed in men's clothing and had aided in the defense of their homes.

The next day at about 7 o'clock P.M. a long line of persons, estimated at 3,000, the remaining women and children of the original 14,000, were seen to leave the city in double column, going towards the South under the escort of gendarms. It is important to note that not one of these persons was ever heard from thereafter, though I sent a trustworthy Mohammedan on a five weeks journey throughout the interior into which they had disappeared to make a diligent search for any of the survivors, and I personally made many inquiries to that end. Without doubt they suffered the fate of their fellow townsmen when at a safe distance from the city, and their bones lie bleaching in the sun and sands of the vast Mesopotamian desert.

The daily departure of convoys of Armenians, redeported from the encampments at Aleppo, as well as many thousands that were sent direct from the interior, finally numbered about 60,000 collected at Deir-el-Zor, where for about a year they were as well taken care of as possible with the limited means at his disposal by Ali Suat Bey, the Governor of that place. This man was a high class gentleman who had spent fifteen years of his life in Egypt, spoke English and French, and was highly esteemed by many in Aleppo whose homes he frequented on the occasion of his numerous visits to our city. He had worked diligently in scattering the Armenians on farm lands, building homes for them, providing food, clothing and medical attendance, and had in every way treated them with great consideration. It is quite evident that the Turkish authorities had ordered him to make other disposition of them, and that he had turned a deaf ear to such instructions, for in June, 1916, he was named Governor of Bagdad and another, Zeki Bey, was appointed Governor of Deir-el-Zor. I have it on the most reliable authority that the latter stated before his departure from Constantinople that there was no use in asking him to grant any favors to Armenians, nor for permission for their departure from Deir, nor for any other consideration whatever to be shown to any of them. He had only just arrived at his post in the beginning of the following August when the Armenians were informed that they should prepare to leave the town, those from certain places such as Aintab, Marash, Angora, etc., being cited to leave on stipulated days. They were told that they would be conducted to certain villages on the Khabur river, which empties into the Euphrates below Deir, and were sent off under strong escorts of armed gendarms. Some arrived at small villages on the Khabur, but the greater part were taken only a few hours from Deir-el-Zor, where they were set upon by bands of Turkish, Circassian and Kurdish ex-convicts that had been liberated from prisons and taken there for that

purpose. The most horrible butcheries imaginable occurred, the facts of which were related to me by a few survivors who miraculously escaped and who were given shelter by friendly Arabs and later returned to Aleppo after suffering great hardships. Systematic search was made of each person before the murders and whatever money or article of value they possessed was taken from them by order of the Governor who personally took charge of the loot. The actual murderers were permitted to profit by whatever clothing or other things found on the corpses, and many articles of clothing were recognized in Deir-el-Zor thereafter in the possession of these brigands and others to whom they were sold. Aside from less than a hundred that escaped, and about 250 small children that were left running in the streets of Deir like dogs, the entire 60,000 Armenians were wiped out within a week. Many of them were prominent business men with whom the Consulates in Aleppo and Alexandretta had had dealings for many years, there were a great number of doctors, lawyers, college and school professors, and there were quite a number Protestant ministers, Catholic priests, and a Catholic bishop or two among them, besides thousands of tradesmen and artisans, the best that Turkey could boast of. Thereafter no news came of further depredations at Deir-el-Zor against later arrivals, the Turks evidently being satisfied with the extent of their carnage at that point.

It was a common occurrence to have the news spread in Aleppo during the years of 1915 and 1916 of a massacre of Armenians in large numbers at Ras-el-Ain, a station on the German-Bagdad railway about 200 miles East of Aleppo, and about 180 miles East of the Euphrates river, and to which point many of the groups of deported persons were directed. Careful estimates of the total number of victims of the Turkish lust for blood in that vicinity placed it at over 300,000, a most astounding figure, but one that is judged by those who were in position to know as being modest enough. And these were the finishing touches to the women and children, for few if any men sent in that direction ever arrived at their destination.

The numbers of hungry, sick and dying that arrived in Aleppo appealing for aid from the populace increased so rapidly from the very beginning that local resources were soon depleted and the Consulate took up the matter with the Embassy with the request that funds be solicited in the United States and elsewhere to be used for the relief of the sufferers. These appeals were immediately recognized as being most urgent, and very soon the Consulate was the Mecca for the deported Armenians that were lucky enough to arrive with sufficient strength to carry them hither.

Many persons that left valuables, household effects and money with American missionaries and other foreigners and friendly Turks in their former homes, and especially with Consul Davis at Harput, presented themselves at the Consulate and asked me to have the funds forwarded to them in my care. Hundreds of such requests were complied with and the money paid to the interested persons. Thousands claiming to have relatives and friends in America asked me to write to the latter to inform them of the sad plight of their people and request that funds be sent to them in care of the Consulate. These requests also were always complied with, and as a result thereof many thousands of needy persons were supplied with funds from time to time that enabled them to keep the remaining members of their families together. It frequently occurred that the persons making the demands were re-deported from Aleppo to some distant place ere the arrival of the funds destined for them, which necessitated the remittance thereof to them through friendly Syrian business men, local bankers or the mails. As relief funds were received from the Embassy at frequent intervals it was necessary that I occupy myself personally with the distribution thereof, owing to the fact that the Turkish authorities had issued strict orders against the giving of help to the sufferers by the people of the city. They even ordered me to never aid the Armenians, but of course I never paid the slightest attention to them, though I always expected that some drastic action would be taken against me sooner or later. As the first groups of a few hundreds grew daily there were soon thousands that came to the Consulate every day, so that the task of distribution became the most burdensome, and it was necessary to set apart the afternoons to attend to this part of the work.

The relief was distributed in this manner until the Autumn of 1916, when I learned that there were many thousands of Mohammedan emigrants or refugees in the vicinity of Ourfa, driven out of that part of Turkey invaded by the Russian Army, and who were mostly in a starving condition. This gave me the opportunity to play a little politics with the Turks, which was done as follows: I paid a visit to the Governor-General, Mustafa Abdulhalak Bey, talked the situation over with him, and told him that there were millions of dollars being raised in America for the benefit of the civilian sufferers of the war, and suggested that it was likely possible for me to secure a sum at least partly sufficient to relieve the suffering of the Mohammedan emigrants near Ourfa if an arrangement could be perfected to permit the Consulate to make the distribution. He promptly told me that according to an existing military order foreigners were prohibited from giving relief to

anyone on Turkey except through the medium of the Government officials. I advised him that for obvious reasons I could not accept this means of distribution, and he readily acknowledged that I had perfectly good grounds for the position I took, because he could not possibly look after the details of such work and had nobody of strict confidence that he could assign to do so. I then offered to telegraph to the Embassy, setting forth the circumstances and urging the sending of funds for that purpose, at the same time asking that the Embassy try and have the Constantinople authorities send orders to the provincial authorities to permit the Consulate to make the distribution. After a great deal of persuasion on my part he agreed to send a similar telegram to Talaat Pasha, Minister of the Interior. It so happened that Ambassador Elkus had invited Talaat Pasha to dinner the next evening, so when he arrived at the Embassy Mr. Elkus showed him the telegram and induced him to send orders to Aleppo, Ourfa and Marash to permit me to distribute relief to the poor, whether Christian, Jew or Mohammedan, without interference by the Turkish authorities.

This gave me a free hand, and after I had once more talked over the matter with the Governor-General I was enabled to appoint local committees to aid the indigent persons within the city of Aleppo, and also for the purpose of sending relief to the thousands located in all the neighboring cities, towns and villages. At the same time I sent Mr. August Bernau, formerly local Manager of the Vacuum Oil Company of New York, and who had for some months been employed at the Consulate on behalf of French interests, to Ourfa where, with the assistance of Mr. Jacob Kunzler, a Swiss missionary, he purchased and arranged for the distribution of flour and grain to the starving Mohammedans sufficient to last them for two and a half months, at the end of which time the Government had arranged for their location on lands in central Asia Minor and had moved them to their new homes.

On another occasion I was advised of the arrival of 1,200 Mohammedan emigrants in Aleppo who were also in a starving condition, and furnished relief to them for a few days through Chevky Pasha, the local military commander, thereby helping the authorities to place them on some lands in the outskirts of the province.

These two opportunities of giving relief to Mohammedans convinced the Turks that I was not conducting a propaganda of the Christians against the Government; it removed practically all of the opposition that had formerly existed against my furnishing relief to the deported Armenians, and permitted me to work freely and openly in my efforts to save the lives of those remaining both in Aleppo and the surrounding country.

As since July, 1915, the Armenians had arrived in Aleppo by the thousands, it became a problem what to do with them to get them from before the eyes of the police officials so that they would not be redeported to the interior. So it was decided to have several persons of responsibility make a house to house canvass of the city and endeavor to place as many as possible in the homes of the people as servants, no distinction being made between Christians, Jews and Moham-medans. Within a few months homes were in this way found for about 40,000 persons, practically all women, girls, and boys under 14 years of age; they acted as house servants and cooks mostly, the boys frequently being employed in running errands and going to market, etc., but for the most part they were dependant on relief for food, as foodstuffs were so dear that the people could not afford to feed them. Though Aleppo boasted of a population of about 300,000, it was no easy task to find places for so many outcasts, most of them half naked, and many in a more or less weakened and unhealthy condition, and few if any speaking Arabic, the language of the country. Surely this is an eminent proof that the Arabs, who go to make up three-fourths of the population of Aleppo, were invariably unalterably opposed to this heinous crime of the Turkish Government against the Armenians!

Another scheme was devised to enable us to prevent the redeportation of the few Armenian men, and which was manoeuvred by the aid of two of the most able and adroit of their number. These men went to Djémal Pasha, Commander in Chief of the Fourth Army, with headquarters in Damascus, and within the jurisdiction of which Aleppo was located, and proposed to him to furnish the labor to manufacture clothing and bedding for the Army if he would provide the buildings within which and the machinery wherewith to work, asking that the Government furnish nothing but one loaf of bread and a bowl of soup once a day to each employee. Djémal Pasha accepted, and within two months six different factories were in operation. The scheme had the issuance to each person so employed of a "vesica", or permit by order of Djémal Pasha, whose authority was paramount, wherein such person was given a number, assigned to a particular factory as a Government employee, and whereby he or she was exempt from military duty, and also enjoyed the privilege of complete liberty. This prevented the redeportation of anyone wearing the insignia and bearing the required document. At the end of two months 6,500 women, mostly widows, 3,000 girls, and 650 men and big boys were working in the factories and enjoyed all the immunities thereto belonging. None of these were to be found among those taken into homes as servants, but were in ad-

dition thereto. The relief furnished by the Consulate, later by the committees, provided the balance of their needs.

Then, there was the question of the children! Thousands of them were running the streets, or were with relatives and friends in a half starved condition, in addition to those we had been able to place in the homes, and it was necessary that they have the first care, for upon them more than on any other devolved the responsibility of the propagation of the Armenian race in Turkey, if such is ever to be. With the aid given by the Consulate Miss Beatrice Rohner, a Swiss missionary who came from Marash for the purpose, opened up two orphanages into which she gathered over 1,000 orphans and about 50 women and a few men workers. Miss Norah Altounyan, an Ottoman subject, daughter of a prominent Armenian doctor of Aleppo, and whose mother was an Irish missionary, volunteered to open up another orphanage, and into which she was able to gather 600 orphans and 40 women helpers, and later took another building into which she collected 400 more. The Consulate furnished most all of the funds required to keep up these establishments, the balance being provided by some wealthy native Aleppo people and some Swiss contributors. Regular allowances were made to each orphanage to enable the managers to provide the necessaries of life. Schooling was given to the children, and notwithstanding the funds were sometimes quite limited, disease was stamped out and the children were in a very thrifty condition. Djémal Pasha gave special permission for the opening and operation of the orphanages, which was obtained through the united efforts of Miss Rohner, Miss Altounyan and myself. The German Consul endeavored to have them given Turkish governmental recognition as German institutions, but we were able to prevent this. It was greatly desired by the Germans, who were co-jointly with the Turks responsible for the plight of the inmates, that they obtain control of the orphanages in order to remove at least a small part of the stigma that attaches to them for their part in the whole affair. A large orphanage was also opened at Killis, 35 miles North of Aleppo, where 400 more children were cared for, and the expense of which was covered by funds provided through the Consulate.

In the Spring of 1916 the authorities decided to remove all the Christians from the coast towns in Northern Syria. This took in those at Alexandretta, Arsous, Swédia, Antioch and the surrounding villages, although the last named city is about 20 miles inland. As the Armenians had already been deported from those places, there remained only the Greek Orthodox, and after they had been sent to the interior,

strangely enough the deportations stopped, leaving the Latin Catholics undisturbed. There were more than 3,000 of the Greek Orthodox thereby placed in the same unfortunate condition as the Armenians, and I accordingly took up the matter with the Embassy asking permission to aid them from the general relief fund. This was agreed to at once, and they were therefore placed on the relief lists, the monthly allowance usually being paid by me direct to the Greek Bishop, a most estimable man with whom I had been personally acquainted for several years. The Greeks had been deported mostly to Idlib, Mumbudge and Bab, with quite a number remaining in Aleppo as they passed through on the way to the interior.

And so relief was being carried on when diplomatic relations were severed between the United States and Turkey in April, 1917. I thereupon arranged to have all relief funds thereafter sent to Mr. Emil Zollinger, a prominent Swiss gentleman of Aleppo, who is intensely interested in philanthropic work, and who receives and pays the committees the money necessary for the monthly distribution.

Aside from about 50,000 persons dependant on relief in Aleppo, there are twice that many more in the surrounding towns and villages, all of whom receive relief through 'the committees that were organized under my supervision before my departure in May, 1917. The principal places at which deported Armenians and Greeks were then located were Aleppo, Aintab, Mosoul, Ourfa, Biredjik, Mardin, Marash, Killis, Mumbudge, Seroudge, Bab, Idlib, Meskéne, Hamam, Rakka, Abou-Harara, Sebha, Sélimié, Hama, Homa and Damascus. The American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief, No. 1, Madison Avenue, New York City, is in touch with the committees in Aleppo through the medium of Mr. Zollinger, and from last accounts the work is progressing very satisfactorily.

During those days many persons fearing trouble left money or valuables at the Consulate, all of which were returned except a very few which were turned over to the Dutch Consul, my temporary successor, when it was seen that I would be forced to leave Aleppo, as it was impossible to foresee that there would be any consul to permanently assume charge of the interests I was then protecting, there being no career consul in Aleppo representing a neutral country.

Hundreds of inquiries were received by the Consulate in reference to the families of Armenians then living in the United States, and which families had been deported to Aleppo or in the vicinity. Practically all of Vice Consul George W. Young's time was occupied in securing the information necessary to prepare the replies thereto, but

many of these and much other valuable information, including copies of military and political reports, and details of massacres and racial disturbances, were burned by me before my departure from Aleppo, following the instructions from the Department transmitted through the Embassy. As practically all of these had been products of my own efforts during my twelve years tenure in the Aleppo district, it was with great sorrow and regret that I watched the flames consume them, knowing that much valuable and historic information was thereby lost forever. There was no other alternative, however, for I had had the terrible example of the failure of the French Consul General at Beirut, Syria, to do likewise, as a result of which his archives had been seized by the Turks and more than sixty estimable men of Syria were exposed and hanged, and some 5,000 more were deported and all had their property confiscated by the Turkish Government. With this before me I did not intend that any act of omission of mine should be the cause of a like catastrophe.

As a vivid illustration of the utter inability of the Turk to take care of himself, the action of the Mohammedan population of Ourfa some months after the extermination of the Armenians had occurred at that place, is most eloquent. It was in December, 1916, that the people of Ourfa, finding themselves without pharmacists, millers, bakers, tanners, shoemakers, dyers, weavers, tailors, or other artisans or tradesmen, presented a petition to the authorities to secure permission for the removal to Ourfa of a number of the Armenian tradesmen then located at Rakka, about three days distant from Ourfa. The petition was sent to Djémal Pasha who ordered 2,500 of such persons, including their families, to go to Ourfa, and before May, 1917, over 6,000 deported Armenians from the surrounding towns and villages had been collected there. When I left Aleppo in that month these people were living in Ourfa and pursuing their business in perfect harmony with the ferocious characters that only one year before had fanatically destroyed 14,000 Christians of the same race and whom they had known and dealt with personally for years.

Enver Pasha, Minister of War, gave an order in February, 1916, to the effect that the official mail of the Consulate, even when addressed to the Department and the Embassy, had to be given unsealed to the post office authorities, to be read and censored by the Turkish military officials. This prevented me from keeping the Embassy advised of events in the district, as they thought, but fortunately in the month of December before I had sent to the Embassy a long list of apparently simple and harmless commercial and other phrases with their code

meanings, which could be communicated by open telegraph, and all pertaining to such events as I could foresee might happen in the future. In this way I was able to inform the Embassy of the intention of the authorities to deport any sect from any district, the seizure of American property, interference with my employees, menace of or interference with my personal safety or the conduct of the Consulate or consular work by the authorities, and various other things that might happen and which it was necessary that the Embassy should be cognizant of. In this manner I was enabled to keep the Embassy posted in regard to many happenings, which was a great mystery to the Turks and which they never, to my knowledge, were able to fathom. By wiring a simple commercial phrase the Consulate could bring pressure to bear on the Constantinople authorities by the Embassy in many instances where otherwise it would have been impossible. As the Turkish Government had abrogated the Capitulations on October 1, 1914, just before entering the war on October 29 of that year, and the authorities had become very arrogant, endeavoring in every way to cheapen the standing and diminish the influence and authority of consular officers, it was necessary to frequently appeal to the Embassy, especially in connection with any question effecting Armenians, and the subjects of the several belligerent countries the protection of whose interests had been entrusted to American diplomatic and consular officials.

Although I was in close personal relation with Enver Pasha, Minister of War, who frequently came to Aleppo, and also with Djémal Pasha, Minister of the Marine and military commander of Syria whom I had entertained on various occasions, and with whom I had had the pleasure to associate at many public and private functions and receptions given in his honor in Aleppo, it was impossible to induce them to lift the restrictions imposed against my free correspondence with the Embassy, though they never interfered with the sealed mail addressed to me by the Embassy. No mail from the Department to the Consulate was permitted to be delivered sealed, the censor always opening such communications, though they invariable contained only circular instructions and printed matter. Enver Pasha told me that even though the Embassy had arranged with the Sublime Porte whereby American Consuls should not forward any military or political information, still he intended to take no chances. As the Turks were more or less under the influence of the Germans, the foregoing indicated that there was an understanding among the higher Turkish and German authorities to the effect that the United States would probably sooner or later be a party to the conflict, and that we should not be allowed to profit by

any information that might have been forwarded from the interior to the Embassy.

Hundreds of personal incidents could be related wherein the Consulate assisted certain individuals and families to escape redeportation, and have been omitted herefrom for the reason that readers hereof might find them tiresome, though undoubtedly interesting to some. Daily prominent persons sought for persistently and fanatically by the authorities were sheltered in the Consulate and conducted clandestinely at night by faithful consular employees to secret friends among the townspeople and even to the friendly bedouin Arabs adjacent to the city. Even American citizens came under the suspicion of the Turks, as the following incident will illustrate:

In the Summer of 1915 Dr. Smith, wife and children, American missionaries of Diarbekir, arrived in Aleppo under arrest where the Doctor was thrown into a vile prison with half a hundred filthy criminals, the wife and children being allowed to go to a hotel. Mrs. Smith advised the Consulate in the morning, and I immediately went to the Governor-General where it was said that not only was it quite certain that the Smiths were spies, but that they were of Armenian origin. I vigorously denied these accusations, and after great insistence succeeded in having the Doctor permitted to join his family at the hotel after guaranteeing to be responsible for his appearance upon demand by the Turks. Dr. Smith and family had suffered the most indignant treatment at the hands of the gendarms for two weeks while en route from Diarbekir overland in a wagon; he was very ill from dysentery and a fit patient for a hospital. It had been the intention of the authorities to conduct them to Beirut from where they might have been brought before a military court martial. I was finally able to send them to Beirut perfectly free, where they arrived and from where they soon afterwards sailed for the United States.

Another case wherein a former American was interested was that of Professor and Mrs. Garabet Daghlilian and baby, from Aintab. Mrs. Daghlilian was formerly Miss Alice Bewer, an American nurse in the American hospital in that city, who had married Professor Daghlilian, an Armenian and ottoman subject, thereby losing her American citizenship. They succeeded in bribing the gendarms escorting them to Deir-el-Zor, and made their way to Aleppo where Mrs. Daghlilian appealed to me for help. I went to the Governor-General, explained the situation, but telling him that because the marriage was not performed in the presence of the Consul I could not recognize the Ottoman nationality of Mrs. Daghlilian and child! As the Governor-General knew

that where the woman was a German subject marriages so performed were not considered binding by the German law, I was able to convince him that such were the conditions under the American law, and he agreed to permit Mrs. Daghlilian and the child to remain in Aleppo, though he stated that he would not permit the husband, an Ottoman subject, to stay. However, Mrs. Daghlilian went to see the Governor-General personally at his private residence one evening, and after quite a visit with him during which he learned that Professor Daghlilian was a highly educated man and able instructor, he agreed to give him a position as teacher in the Aleppo Turkish High School, where he was still engaged when I left Syria. Mrs. Daghlilian is a sister of Dr. Julius Bewer of New York City, whom I promptly notified of her welfare upon my arrival in the United States.

Since reaching the United States I have been sought after by many of the relatives and friends of those persons known to have suffered at the hands of the Turks, have been in New York City several times on which occasions I have conferred with more than 4,000 people, mostly former residents of Aleppo, all anxious to learn of the welfare of their families, news of whom they had not had since soon after the beginning of the war. I have also received and answered numerous inquiries from others that could not meet me in person, and from the best of my memory have given them the information they desired.

Summarizing briefly, the Consulate avoided being made a victim of the treacherous machinations of the German Embassy in Constantinople and the German Consulate in Aleppo.

In cooperation with the Embassy the Consulate was able to prevent the deportation of about 48,000 Armenians from their homes in Aleppo, Aintab and Marash and the surrounding villages;

To save and care for over 100,000 more Armenians that were deported from the interior and halted in the above named cities and other towns and villages in Northern Syria, representing the major portion of the survivors of the race in Turkey, including the housing of 2,400 orphans;

To provide temporarily for about 45,000 Mohammedan emigrants that were driven out of Northern Turkey by the Russian army; and

To furnish relief to over 3,000 Greek Orthodox deported from the seacoast towns to the interior at and near Aleppo.